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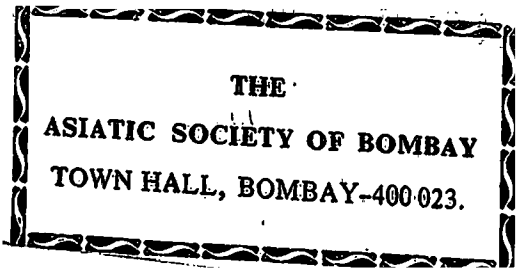

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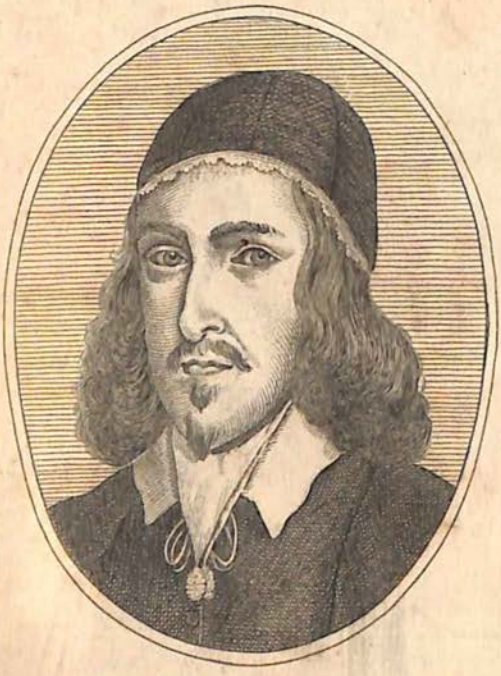
THE LIFE AND OPINIONS OF A FIFTH-MONARCHY-MAN.



Mr. Io. Rogers.

Facsimile of a contemporary engraving

SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND OPINIONS OF A

Fifth-Monarchy-Man.

CHIEFLY EXTRACTED FROM THE WRITINGS

of JOHN ROGERS, Preacher,

---

by THE REV. EDWARD ROGERS, M.A.

Student of Chriſt Church, Oxford.

"*The chief of theſe, among the Laiety, were Major-General Harriſon, Mr. John Carew, Colonel Rich; among the Clergy, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feak, Mr. Sympſon.*"—OLDMIXON's Hiſtory of the Stuarts.

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LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, READER AND DYER.

1867.

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PREFACE.

THE following account can claim no attention on the ground of the merits and importance of a Fifth-Monarchy-Man, whoſe name has been forgotten for nearly two hundred years. If it ſhould prove intereſting, it muſt be becauſe it preſents the "vera effigies," the life-like and authentic portrait of one who, with much perſonal ſingularity, is no unfair repreſentative of a faction which by its turbulent fanaticiſm earned for itſelf a momentary influence on politics, the hearty abhorrence of its opponents, and a certain place in hiſtory.

In the endeavour to conſtruct a likeneſs of ſuch a man as *John Rogers* appeared to his contemporaries and to himſelf, I have ſtudiouſly availed myſelf of his own words, for in truth it is ſcarcely ſo much what he thought, did, and ſuffered, as the manner in which he himſelf deſcribed what he thought, did and ſuffered, which will enable the reader to underſtand him.

In thus compiling his life, chiefly from his own writings, my great difficulty has ariſen from his exceeding volubility. "You will talk, I ſee," *Oliver Cromwell* ſaid to him,

"although it be nothing to the purpoſe." As he talked ſo he wrote; mixing with much that is terſe and graphic a far greater quantity of what is tedious and irrelevant. I have been forced, therefore, to include in my extracts only ſo much as anſwered ſome purpoſe, omitting without ſcruple what I did not want, whether a word, a phraſe, or a paragraph. By theſe exciſions the continuity of my extracts has been ſo often interrupted that I have found it impoſſible, without perplexing the reader and diſfiguring my book, even to mark their places by aſteriſks; I have printed, therefore, as conſecutive what in ſtrictneſs ſhould have been printed as a ſeries of fragments.

This acknowledgment applies chiefly to the hiſtory of *Rogers'* early life and of his priſon ſufferings, to the Epiſtle to Purleigh, and to the five Epiſtles to *Cromwell.* In ſome of theſe, too, I have occaſionally interpolated a word (within brackets) for the ſake of grammar, or ſubſtituted a ſynonym for an expreſſion which might unduly offend our modern ſenſe of decorum.

In the Narrative of his interview with *Oliver Cromwell* I have indicated the omiſſions by the uſual ſigns.

In dealing with his controverſial works, "Bethſhemeſh" and "Sagrir," and with *Crofton's* "Bethſhemeſh Clouded," I have only aimed at giving a general and juſt idea of their ſtyle and the more characteriſtic parts of their contents; I have therefore not ſcrupled to extract, to re-arrange, or to condenſe, and that either in my own words, or in thoſe of the reſpective authors, according to my judgment and convenience.

In extracts from books of the ſeventeenth century, the ſpelling and dates have been moderniſed except in a few in-

ſtances, where either inadvertently, or for ſome expreſs purpoſe, the old form of ſpelling has been retained. Some of the more evident miſprints, with which books of that period abounded, have been corrected.

I have only further to expreſs my cordial acknowledgments to *Colonel J. L. Cheſter*, of the United States of America, the author of "The Life of John Rogers, the Marian Protomartyr," whoſe biographical ſketch of the Fifth-Monarchy-Man in that book furniſhed me with authorities from which I commenced my own inquiries, and who has given me much friendly and valuable aſſiſtance in the courſe of them.

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LIFE AND OPINIONS OF A

Fifth-Monarchy-Man.

CHAPTER I.

JOHN ROGERS, the Fifth-Monarchy-Man, was the ſon of *Nehemiah Rogers*, Prebendary of Ely in the reign of Charles I, and the grandſon of *Vincent Rogers*, miniſter of Stratford-le-Bow, in the reign of Elizabeth. Family tradition aſſigns to him and them a deſcent from *John Rogers*, the firſt ſufferer for religion in the reign of Mary.

The life and character of Nehemiah are only remarkable for the contraſt they afford to the life and character of his ſon. He was born in 1594, loſt his father, Vincent, when he was eight years old, and was educated at Merchant Tailors' School and at Cambridge, where he became fellow of Jeſus. Afterwards, as a clergyman of the Church of England, he held the curacy of St. Margaret's, Fiſh Street, London, from which he was transferred to the vicarage of Meſſing in Eſſex. In 1632 he publiſhed a ſermon which he had preached at Kelvedon, on the occaſion of Laud's ſecond triennial viſitation. In 1635 Laud announced to the preſident of St. John's, Oxford, that he had procured for the college the perpetual inheritance of the Rectory of Gatton, adding, "He that gives it to the college for my ſake is *Mr. Nehemiah Rogers*, now a miniſter in Eſſex, and a man of good note. . . To whom and in what order this benefice upon

every avoidance ſhall be given, *Mr. Rogers* hath left wholly to my care." In 1636 he was preferred to a prebend at Ely, and in 1642 to the Rectory of St. Botolph's, Biſhopſgate, London. In 1642 and 1643 the Puritans caſt out from their parſonages all the clergy of the Church of England who remained conſtant to Church and King. *Nehemiah Rogers* ſhared the fate of his brethren, and was thrown forth deſtitute on the world.

Laud's Works, Ang. Cath. Lib. vol. vii. p. 242.

Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 313.

Walker's Sufferings of Clergy, part ii. p. 22.

Like many others of the loyal clergy, when he loſt his own home he found another in the homes of the country gentry. In proceſs of time, but with great difficulty, he procured liberty to exerciſe his miniſtry, and during the later years of his life he officiated in various pariſhes in Eſſex. He died in 1660, a few days before Charles II. was publicly proclaimed in London.

He was a diligent writer while he could ſafely publiſh—that is to ſay, before 1640 and after 1658. His works, which were chiefly in expoſition of the Parables, appear to have been popular in their day, but have not obtained any laſting reputation. One merit, however, they poſſeſs, for which they are here referred to; they reflect very clearly the character of the author, and it is in them that the contraſt between father and ſon ſtands out moſt diſtinctly. Unlike his ſon, *Nehemiah Rogers* was of a gentle and peaceful diſpoſition, and of moderate opinions; unlike his ſon, he had the art of conciliating thoſe with whom he was brought in contact; and unlike his ſon, he loved to dwell not on political, but on practical religion, not on the iniquity of his adverſaries, but on the kindneſs of his friends. Theſe characteriſtics are moſt viſible in his dedications, and eſpecially in the earlieſt and the lateſt of them. Two or three extracts from theſe compoſitions, which are devoted, as he tells us, "to the teſtification of a thankful heart to thoſe from whom he had received undeſerved kindneſs," ſeem to illuſtrate his temper, and to a certain extent that of the times in which he lived. His firſt dedications are to the London citizens, of whoſe hoſpitality he had partaken in the good old times of King James I. "While I live," he ſays, "I ſhall confeſs your love, and the encouragement I had amongſt you. What Candala, Queen of Pannonia, ſometimes ſaid to the Venetians for her royal entertainment, that ſhe never knew herſelf to be queen till ſhe came to their territories, I think the preachers of the Goſpel may ſay, hardly can they know themſelves, by their entertainment in the world, to be miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, till they come to Londoners' houſes and tables."

Parable of Prodigal Son, 2nd Ed. 1632.

His lateſt dedications are to his pariſhioners in Eſſex, or to thoſe friends and patrons among the country gentry who had befriended him in his adverſity and old age. He thus writes to the worſhipful and religious gentleman, *Mr. Thomas Roberts*, of Little Braxted in Eſſex; and to the pious and religious gentlewoman, *Mrs. Dorothy Roberts*, his virtuous and worthy wife:—"Good Sir . . . . To you I am many ways obliged for your abundant favours and fruits of love really expreſſed even then when it pleaſed God moſt to darken my outward eſtate. For three years' ſpace I moſt comfortably enjoyed my miniſtry through God's goodneſs and yours in that pariſh where you now dwell, all which time I found your houſe to be both to me and mine, as the houſe of Oneſiphorus was to Paul, a houſe of great refreſhment. . . . . Good *Mrs. Roberts* . . . . To myſelf you have been like that godly Shunamite to Eliſha; you have joined as a partner to your huſband in his love and bounty, providing light and lodging, houſe room and firing, and other neceſſaries fitting for an Eliſha; and therefore I make bold to join you with him in this dedication, craving the like acceptance from you as from him." . . . .

Figleſs fig-tree, 1659. Epiſtle dedicatory.

2 Tim. i. 16.

Thus, too, he commemorates the kindneſs of another of his lay patrons, *Mr. Edward Herrys*, of Much Badow:—"Worthy Sir . . . . Your friendly favours I may not bury in a kind of tacit acknowledgment, but I muſt needs acquaint the world with part of them. Under God, you were the principal means of my obtaining my liberty for the exerciſing of my miniſterial functions, and that in ſuch a time when it was thought ſcarce feaſible. You engaged your friends in it and were at coſt about it, and at length effected it, to my great comfort and content, who, having ſerved my Lord and Maſter ſix full 'prenticeſhips in the works of the Goſpel, could not be but much troubled now in my old age, to be turned out of my ſervice, and have my indenture torn before death brought me my freedom, which I daily expect, wanting but few of thoſe years which David allows in common account to the days of man. This being done, yet you had not done, but were pleaſed, having the power in your hand, to remove me from that place where I was, from which I muſt confeſs I was drawn with much unwillingneſs, and preſent me to a living then vacant and in your power to diſpoſe of, where, with the general deſire and

"The Faſt Friend," 1658. Epiſtle dedicatory.

Ps. xc. 10.

good liking of the people as yet I am . . . . I have not been altogether idle in my younger time, no, not in a tempeſtuous ſeaſon (to the glory of God who hath enabled me I ſpeak it); albeit I ſee great cauſe, now that my almond tree doth bloom, and the weather ſerves, to double my diligence that my laſt works may be more than my firſt."

Eccles. xii. 5.

Rev. ii. 19.

The following is part of his farewell to the pariſhioners from whom he had been drawn with ſo much reluctance, and affords a curious contraſt to a farewell addreſs from his ſon John, which will appear hereafter:—

Infra, p. 34.

"Faſt Friend." Epiſt. to the Reader.

Galat. iv. 19. 2 Cor. xii. 15.

"Friendly Reader,— . . . . Whilſt God was pleaſed to caſt out my lot amongſt you at St. Oſyth* for the ſpace of ſix years and upwards, I can comfortably uſe the Apoſtle's words —I travailed with pain, that Chriſt might be found in you. . . . . St. Paul goes further, and tells the Corinthians, notwithſtanding this, yet the more abundantly he loved, the leſs he was beloved of them; but that was not my caſe, and it was a great part of my happineſs that it was ſo, for it is many a good miniſter's caſe. I found you for the generality at my firſt coming amongſt you to be a moſt loving and willing people, and ſo you continued (ſo many as God continued life unto), even unto the time of my departing from you; you prevented me with your abundant courteſies, nor could I modeſtly deſire anything of you that was not readily granted. To which, if I ſhould add the great encouragement I had from thoſe honourable perſons now reſiding amongſt you, both in countenancing my miniſtry and other great favours received, it may raiſe a wonder how it came about that I deſerted you. . . . And now that I am removed from you, I cannot forget you, and my deſire is that I may not be forgotten by you. That I remember you theſe few lines may let you underſtand, and that I may not be forgotten of you my hearty deſire is that my labours amongſt you may live in your hearts and lives. . . . . And ſo, brethren, I com-

* From a manuſcript liſt of the livings in Eſſex about the year 1653, it appears that St. Oſyth had then "neither parſonage nor vicarage," and that Mr. Nehemiah Rogers, the Incumbent, was "maintained by the Counteſs of Rivers."—*Lanſdowne MSS.* 459.

mend you to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance amongſt all them which are ſanctified (Acts xx. 32), being the laſt text that was preached among you by him who is

A ſervant to you all
for the furtherance of
your ſouls' ſalvation,

Doddinghurſt, NEHEMIAH ROGERS.
July 22, 1658."

St. Oſyth, the pariſh which Nehemiah left, muſt have been a remarkable pariſh in thoſe days, but Doddinghurſt, to which he was transferred, muſt have been even more ſo. He tells the inhabitants that God had ſo bleſſed the labours of his predeceſſors "that there is not for anything that yet I perceive at preſent any faction or fraction amongſt you, no Papiſt, Anabaptiſt, Quaker, or any ſuch like ſchiſmatic; you live in amity and peace one with another (generally), which is not ordinary, and in theſe times a ſingular mercy."

The feelings with which he regarded the civil war and its conſequences are ſufficiently indicated in the following paſſage from a ſermon, which he publiſhed about ſix weeks before the death of *Oliver Cromwell*:—"Let us look backward, and then take forward. How can we, in the firſt place, but lament and bewail our horrible ingratitude and unkind dealing with ſo bountiful and liberal a maſter. Marvellous hath been God's dealings towards this land and nation. Never any nation under Heaven that taſted more of the riches of God's bounty, nor ſtood more bound to God than this for his liberality. What peace! what plenty! what deliverances! What brightneſs of heavenly light for fourſcore years did we enjoy! Whilſt our neighbour nations were wearied with bloody wars, and ſcarce received any other dew than the blood of the inhabitants, we ſat under our own vines and fig-trees, having peace within our walls and plenteouſneſs within our palaces. We ſlept when they bled, we abounded when they wanted, we ſurfeited when they ſtarved. Our ſun did ſhine out glorioufly whilſt theirs was ſet. We had magiſtrates, miniſters, ſchools, churches, laws, trade, all of the beſt, whilſt they would have been glad of the worſt, being deprived of them all. Aſk Bohemia, aſk Germany, what they thought of us. Would they not ſay, Happy

Deut. xxxiii. 29.

art thou, O England! who is like unto thee, O people ſaved by the Lord? That which Moſes ſaid to Iſrael might be made ours (Deut. iv. 7): 'What nation is there ſo great, who hath God ſo nigh to them as the Lord our God is in all things we call unto him for?' But what uſe made we of this our Maſter's liberality? Surely whilſt we ſhould have been recounting mercies we were finding faults and ſpying flaws in our ſtate and government. The civil was tyrannical, the eccleſiaſtical papiſtical, &c. Nothing pleaſed, not the hedge, not the wine-preſs, not the watch-tower, not the watchmen. Theſe we trample down with our own feet, pluck down with our own hands. When God looked for grapes, behold wild grapes; for judgment and righteouſneſs, ſin and wickedneſs, helliſh atheiſm and profaneneſs, horrid oaths and blaſphemies, contempt of God's word and ordinances, violation of God's ſabbaths, rebellion againſt governors, murder, theft, lying, and what not. . . . This was that which cauſed God to pull up the hedge, &c. to lay us even with other diſtreſſed churches, and make us know what we had by what we have loſt. Thank we unthankfulneſs for what we have loſt, for God takes no forfeiture but what unthankfulneſs makes."

Deut. iv. 7.

Iſai. v. 4, 7.

"Faſt Friend," p. 449.

Nehemiah Rogers married Margaret, ſiſter of *William Collingwood*, a loyal clergyman of Eſſex, who was ejected from his preferments in the Rebellion, and was one of the firſt Prebendaries of St. Paul's after the Reſtoration. With ſuch relations it is not ſurpriſing that *John Rogers*, the Fifth-Monarchy-Man, found but little ſympathy in his own family when he broke away from them, and held communion with Puritans and Roundheads.

This John was the ſecond ſon of Nehemiah, and was born in 1627. The following account of his early life is extracted from the hiſtory of his religious experiences, which he narrated by word of mouth before a congregation at Dublin. It was one of his tenets that every candidate for church-memberſhip ſhould deliver in according to his ability ſome ſuch account of the previous works of grace upon his heart.

Ohel or Bethſhemeſh, p. 419.

To give a formal account from year to year of my life would make me too tedious to you and myſelf. I hope we ſhall have opportunities hereafter to open ourſelves in this kind one to another; in the mean time I ſhall cite

ſome of the moſt remarkable paſſages which to my preſent remembrance I have met with in former years to this day to do their duty and homage before you.

1. Call to awaken him by the Word.

And firſt, when I was a ſchoolboy at Maldon, in Eſſex, I began to be rouſed up by two men, viz. *Mr. Fenner* and *Mr. Marſhall.** The firſt of theſe about the tenth year of mine age, as I take it (for what I was before I know not, a mere—I know not what, although I was kept continually in good order, as to read every day and be catechized and the like), yet then hearing *Mr. William Fenner* full of zeal, ſtirring about, and thundering, and beating the pulpit, I was amazed and thought he was mad,—I wondered what he meant, and whilſt I was gazing upon him I was ſtruck, and ſaw that it was we that were mad, which made him ſo. "Oh," ſays he, "you knotty! rugged! proud piece of fleſh! you ſtony, rocky, flinty, hard heart, what wilt thou do when thou art roaring in hell amongſt the damned!" &c. This made me at firſt amazed, which run often in my mind after, and I began now to be troubled, being ſcared and frighted, and out of fear of hell I fell to duties, hear ſermons, read the ſcriptures, (though I knew not what I read, but only thought the bare reading was enough, morning and

Scared at the thoughts of hell.

Very formal and ſtrict in it.

* Dr. William Fenner was born in 1600; was preſented by the Earl of Warwick to the Rectory of Rochford, in Eſſex, in 1629, and died in 1640. Anthony à Wood ſays that he "was much admired and frequented by the Puritanical party."—Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 451; Anthony a Wood's *Faſt. Oxon.* i. 223.

Stephen Marſhall, the Preſbyterian, was miniſter ſucceſſively of Weathersfield and Finchingfield, in Eſſex, and lecturer at St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter. He was a conſtant preacher before the Long Parliament, by which he was conſulted in all matters of importance relating to religion. Without doubt," ſays Clarendon, "the Archbiſhop of Canterbury had never ſo great an influence upon the counſels at Court as Dr. Burgeſs and Mr. Marſhall had then upon the Houſes" of Parliament.—Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 241, and *Clarendon*, ii. 25.

evening), and learned to pray, at firſt out of books, and all the graces, ſo called, that I could get. And beſides family prayers I was afraid every night leſt the devil ſhould carry me away to Hell, if I did not firſt to myſelf, whilſt my brother, my bedfellow, was faſt aſleep, ſay my prayers and my "Our Father," and "I believe in God," &c. and the Ten Commandments, and my little catechiſm (Dr. Hall's), which I had learned, and this I did every night duly before I durſt ſleep, and I made as much of them as of a charm to keep me well that night, which elſe I conceited the devils would tear me to pieces. And yet ſometimes, when I was ſleepy, to make the more haſte I ſhould ſay ſome of them at leaſt, to be in a forwardneſs, in the chimney corner, whilſt I was unbuttoning me, or untying my hoſe, or the like, preparing to go to bed, thinking all was well enough, ſo 'twas but done, only ſometimes, though I was unwilling to it, yet out of fear I remember of the Devil, or ſome miſchief, being ready to fancy anything to be the Devil, I ſhould ſay my prayers, or commandments, or catechiſm, or all, twice over, ſuſpecting I ſaid them not well enough before. Thus, as the Apoſtle ſays, when I was a child I did childiſh things, and I thought this was very well, and very oftentimes would I be talking with ſome boy or other, getting him from all the reſt to walk with me, and I would tell him of Hell and ſin, and ſuch like things, for it ran always in my mind, and I lived under a deſperate fear. But for all this, *Mr. Marſhall*, a while after in the ſame pulpit, took me napping, whiles I was, I know not how, bewitched to nod, and began to ſleep; but his powerful voice * thundering againſt ſuch as are drowſy, and ſleep and ſlumber away their ſalvation, was at that time picked out for me, and very prevalent. I

Right formality.

Under great bondage of works.

2. Call to awaken by the Word.

* "Roar like Marſhall, that Geneva Bull,
Hell and Damnation a pulpit-full."
—*Cleveland's Rebel Scot.*

ſtarted up with an aching heart, and was frighted at his words, which he yet purſued, and wounded me to the heart, when he told us how that when time was loſt we could not call it again. O, I was ſufficiently wounded, and fell a weeping. I could not hold, and after ſermon I went home where I boarded, and ſat alone crying and complaining that I had loſt my time: and at that time I took up a purpoſe never to ſleep at church more, and made a covenant with it, which I think to this day I obſerved ever ſince; and when I began (as at firſt I was often tempted) to be drowſy, I would always ſtand and hold on nothing, and caſt my eyes about to open them more. But after this I reſolved to write down as well as I could every ſermon I heard, and to get them by heart, and to ſay every night one ſermon; and this courſe which I took made me more ready at night, when my father repeated the ſermons, or the landlord where I boarded—for they both did it, being very godly,—this made me readier to anſwer when we were aſked what we could remember. And this courſe I took cuſtomarily for nine or ten years together, long after I came from Cambridge; and hereby I was not only able to tell many men's ſermons together, but alſo able (though chiefly by higher means) to preach at eighteen or nineteen years of age, as I did in Huntingdonſhire, if not ſooner, to the amazement of many, but to the table-talk of more.

How to keep from ſleeping in the church.

More formal.

How to keep Sermons many years.

But not long after this that I heard *Mr. Marſhall* as before, I was further awakened by my father, who, preaching upon the Good Samaritan, and ſhewing his compaſſion, &c. preached and preſſed ſo powerfully, that I was thrown into a trembling as lying under the guilt of Chriſt's blood, and was long perplexed about it.

Nehemiah Rogers, that writ on the Parables.

3. Call to awaken by the Word.

But after all this there is another remarkable paſſage that I muſt never forget, which I met with, or rather met with me, to the purpoſe. About 1637, as I take it, at

Meſſing, in Eſſex, I was playing with children, my fitteſt companions then, and running round about the houſe we lived in through two or three little gates, in ſport and idleneſs as I was running with the reſt, I know not how or upon what occaſion, I threw out vain words, and crying, "O Lord" (which we were not ſuffered to do), my heart was ſuddenly ſmitten upon it, and I was ſuddenly ſet a running as if I had been poſſeſſed by I know not what power or ſpirit, not having any ſtrength to ſtay myſelf, were it upon my life, until I was headlong carried through a little gateway, where as plainly to my thinking and in my appearance as ever I ſaw anything by the ſunſhine, there was ſet a naked ſword gliſtering with a fearful edge, I thought, and which took up the whole ſpace of the gate from one poſt to another, with a broad blade moſt keen and cruel, at which ſad ſight ſo fraught with frights I ghaſtly ſcreeched, and yet had not the leaſt power to ſtay or ſtop my precipitant courſe, but I was quickly carried quite unto it, ſo as that the edge of the cruel blade meeting with my body, it ſeemed to me impoſſible I ſhould eſcape death, and I made no other account but to be quite cut off and parted aſunder; but afterward being hurried through with that headlong and furious force, I had ſtrength to ſtay a little beyond it, and to perpend the perplexible peril which I was in. I ſtood as one amazed, or rather as one that knew not whether he were alive or dead; I knew not how to believe myſelf leſs than a dead man, and afterward at leaſt mortally and deadly wounded, if not deſperately and deplorably cut in twain. Oh! how I ſtood trembling and tumbling in my thoughts, until the vital blood, which was fled for the heart's defence, began to diſperſe again and to go quietly to their own homes, and then I looked about and turned me to the gateway, but the appearance was paſſed away, the ſword gone and vaniſhed, whilſt I was left alone, the reſt running away, in a labyrinth of fears, with-

4. Call to awaken by a ſtrange viſion.

A warning to ſuch as take God's name in vain.

out any wound without, but deeply and woefully wounded within, and never ſince (to the praiſe of God's grace), as I know of, have I had ſuch extravagant, prepoſterous expreſſions paſs from me.

But, good God, what was thy will herein? Thou who art not tied to means or order, beſt ordereſt and diſpoſeſt of all things for thine own deſign and glory, and ſo this was, I am ſure; but what it was I know not, yet it left a laſting impreſſion upon me, and the ſcar is yet to be ſeen in my heart, though the wound be healed. But, alas! how long and lamentably I lay afflicted and in continual fears after this! Every thunder and lightning I looked upon as my fate and ſent for me, and then I would fall to my prayers, and ſaying my Creed and Commandments, and to my ſermons, as faſt as might be, that I might be found well-doing at leaſt, if not as a charm to defend me, or a challenge to God by virtue of them to keep and bleſs me. But all this while like an Iſraelite in Egypt I worked for life, and my ſervices were my saviours, and I would to my brothers, ſiſters, and ſchoolfellows and companions, take occaſion to talk of Heaven and Hell, and what a hard thing it was to be ſaved.

A previſion in a dream at Maldon, in Eſſex.

Some time after this in Maldon, where I was boarded, and put to the Free-ſchool, I had a certain dream, which by the conſequence proved a previſion of what is now come to paſs. It was on a night about the time when the Spaniards and Hollanders had a ſcuffling and a kind of naumachie* upon the Downs, for then ſome talking of that fight filled me full of fears, and in the night my dream was that fire rained (as I may ſay), or rather poured down round about, and looking where I was, I thought it to be without the coach-yard gate of my father's houſe, and I

* "1639, Sept. 7, Fight in the Downs between the Spaniſh and Dutch fleets."—*Hiſtorian's Guide.*

was frighted to ſee nothing but fire, looking upward and round about, praying for deliverance. None came nigh me round about by a good ſpace, but flaming elſe I thought in all places, and I could ſee none exempted; wherefore being afflicted for my father and our family, I fell on my knees for them, and I thought I continued ſo, long ere I could be heard, but was at laſt bid to ariſe and look, and then I thought the fire fell not ſo faſt on my father's houſe as it did before, but by little and little abated till I awaked. Now, although this dream had ſeized much upon my ſpirits, yet I made no other account of it than of a fancy till five or ſix years after, in the Iſle of Ely, meeting with *Dr. Drayton*, *D.D.* he declared to me for ſeveral reaſons that this muſt be more than a mere dream, and that he was confident it did ſhew ſome fiery and angry diſpenſation upon all our family, and my father and the reſt ſhould lie under ſome trouble by the times or otherwiſe, and myſelf ſhould be ſet free, and at this liberty to pray for them, and that by degrees they ſhould be recovered and brought out, and the fire abate. Which interpretation (more fully by far from his own mouth) is for the moſt part verified at this day. But all this while I was labouring for life, exceedingly formal, and I did much covet to know the things of God, and therefore wiſhed oft I were but a miniſter, ſuch a one as *Mr. Fenner* is, or *Mr. Marſhall*, or *Mr. Hooker*, or my father, or ſome other that was eminent, that I might attain to their knowledge, and then I thought I ſhould do abundance more for God (as if God were beholding to me for my obedience), and I would then, I thought, be ſure to get ſalvation (as if I could then eaſily do it).

Interpreted by Dr. Drayton.

Came to paſs.

Reſting in doings.

Thus, a poor creature, I continued for ſeveral years together, and if you knew but half what I met with in that time you would ſay I was a poor creature indeed as any alive, for I kept to myſelf many faſt-days, and would eat

nothing; heard, read, ſang pſalms; meditated, uſed ſoliloquies, and prayed many times a day, and what not; and yet at laſt deſpaired even to the depth. What by often thoughts of Hell, reading Drexellius upon eternity, and then thinking of endleſs, endleſs and remedileſs torments, and what by frequent frights as before, and what by my father once preaching on the fool in the Goſpel (Luke xii. 20), "Thou fool, this night will I take away thy ſoul; then whoſe ſhall thoſe things be that thou haſt provided?" —whence he handled a point of the folly of men to lay up here and forget Heaven, and ſhewing that Heaven came not with eaſe on a down bed, but many ſhall ſtrive hard to enter and ſhall not be able, and that except you exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees (Matt. v. 20), you ſhall in no caſe enter into the kingdom of Heaven,—what with theſe and other things I was almoſt in the bottomleſs abyſmes of torments. I took the Bible to look theſe Scriptures, read them over and over and over again, but the more I read the more I roared in the black gulf of deſpair, where I was caſt ſo deep as to me and others I ſeemed ſometimes paſt all recovery. I prayed, faſted, mourned, got into corners, yea many times, being I was aſhamed to make my caſe known, I have ran into barns, ſtables, anywhere, pretending as if I had buſineſs, on purpoſe to pray, ſigh, weep, knocking my breaſt, curſe that ever I was born, wiſhing I were a ſtone, anything but what I was, for fear of Hell and the devils, whom I thought I ſaw every foot in ſeveral ugly ſhapes and forms, according to my fancies, and ſometimes with great rolling flaming eyes like ſaucers, having ſparkling firebrands in the one of their hands, and with the other reaching at me to tear me away to torments. O the leaps that I have made! the frights that I have had! the fears that I was in! which continued off and on to the beginning of theſe times. Beſides, great outward afflictions that I met with were of

Deſpaired.

5. Knock, awakened by the Word.

Fearful afflictions and tears.

much force to bring me into this condition, being often (and doubtleſs I might deſerve it too, too much) beaten, bruiſed, turned out of doors, whirled and kicked about, hardly and unkindly uſed, at which times I ſhould ſometimes be tempted to murder myſelf, ſometimes think I could not belong to God, for then he could not endure to ſee me thus uſed and afflicted; and yet I fly to Him and pray, and pray, and pray, but as good ſpeak to a poſt, for I am not relieved. Sometimes I ſhould read and weep, and, as my uſual manner was in the time of my great deſpair, fall flat all along with my face on the ground, and cry, and call, and ſigh, and weep, and call for help; but the Lord's time was not yet come to anſwer, and I was wont to weep half the night together, if not all ſometimes, and to water my bed with my tears, for fear of Hell and the Devil, and therefore for ſins or rebellious diſobedience, and ever ſlept with my hands claſped cloſe together in a praying poſture, that if I did die, or that the devils did prey upon me, they might find me in a praying poſture, ſleeping as well as waking. I never durſt go to ſleep otherwiſe to my knowledge for five or ſix years together.

Temptations.

The greateſt blow.

But the greateſt blow I had was from the ſentence of the aforeſaid Scripture in *Matt.* v. 20. Surely, thought I, I but ſtrive againſt the ſtream and ſeek out impoſſibilities, if I muſt exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees; I had often read of their ſtrictneſs in their Houſes and Synhedriums and Schools, &c. [and] theſe conſiderations and ſuch like made me think it in vain to ſeek to be ſaved. In a word, to ſuch a height was I grown up unto, that I did not only deſpair, but began to be diſtracted and out of my wits, as we uſe to ſay. I thought trees ſometimes good Angels, ſometimes bad, and looked upon buſhes as the Dens of Devils. I ſhould ſit up whole nights ſometimes in a little turret we had, in an orchard, from the houſe, ſtudying, ſinging, whiſtling, whooping, or drawing figures, or one

Deſpair.

thing or other, or elſe be walking in the fields, woods, or ſome other places, talking to myſelf, ſpeaking to trees as to men, or as to angels or God, and thinking the leaſt whiſtling of the wind, or chirping of a bird, or lowing of a beaſt, to be ſome anſwer ſent to me, as I would fancy it. But as theſe diſtracted diſtempers grew higher, I could not avoid the forcible temptations of a furious Devil, making me ſometimes whet a knife, ſometimes take a billet, ſometimes one thing, ſometimes another, to murder myſelf and ſometimes others, and ſometimes all—for I would have had all to have gone my way, methought. Many ways I tried, but was always prevented, till at laſt I was taken and bound hand and foot, and held or tied faſt in a bed till the raging fits were over; and then, when I was ſpent and patient, if let go, yet without a watchful eye, though it may be I ſaid nothing, yet the firſt thing I went about, it may be, would be to ſeek a knife, or to get to the window to caſt myſelf down headlong; but I have been ſtrangely and almoſt miraculouſly kept, even in the very act and inſtant of time, when a few minutes longer had been too late to ſave my life.

Miraculouſly ſaved from ſelf-murder.

I dare boldly ſay, few that ſaw me in thoſe headlong diſtempers did think me at the beſt fit for any place but Bedlam, and that I ſhould ever be reſtored to what I am, which was alſo as ſtrangely; for, as the diſtracted fits did much abate me, they did turn more to inward malady and melancholy, my continual cry being, "I am damned! I am damned! I am ſure I can't be ſaved—it is impoſſible. Oh, Hell! Hell! fire about me! the devils are at me!" and I thought I heard the damned roaring and raving, and ſaw them as 'twere roaſting, and their friſking and frying in everlaſting torments. My mind and all was taken up with their howlings and ſcreechings. This ſad condition, day and night, laſted upon me until I was perſuaded that there was a God, and that this God was righteous, and that he

Inward melancholy and deſpairs.

A word to the wicked.

would hear prayers if I continued but knocking with importunity and gave not over; then I reſolved with myſelf, (and gathered together here and there thoſe ſcattered reliques of reaſon which were left me), that I would continue prayer, and ſo I did (though by fits I was froward and mute, and wild and I know not how), yet off and on, five days together, ſcarce eating a bit of bread in all that time, and was after that in another form and frame of ſpirit, though by fits full of diſtraction and deſperate thoughts, yet more ſerious and ſet to weigh things as in a balance, and to expoſtulate with the Lord, and to pray by fits moſt furiouſly, and now and then tears began again, which were all dried up before, to trickle and come tumbling down my face like ſwollen drops of blood, and I continued thus three or four days; till one afternoon, coming into a chamber, my heart being as big as it could hold, I threw myſelf flat on my face as I uſed to do, knocking the boards and calling and crying to the Lord for deliverance, and uſing ſuch exorciſing expreſſions as might diſcover me in deſpair; and ſtarting up, I walked a turn or two, ſaying, "Is there not a God? Is he gracious? Are the Scriptures falſe? Canſt thou take delight to ſee a poor ſoul thus ſet on the rack, ſighing and roaring in torment? Riſe up and appear for thyſelf, thou great God, ſhow thyſelf gracious in one act of mercy, maugre all the devils in Hell!" And with knocking my breaſt and tearing my hair, I threw myſelf upon the bed, whilſt my eyes were glazed with tears, and there I lay in a ſudden ſleep which ſeized upon me, and I dreamed of the ſame Scripture (the letter, which killed me), and yet of Chriſt (the Spirit which quickened me), and that his righteouſneſs, by faith made mine, did exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, and except I, in and by the righteouſneſs of Chriſt made mine, did excel the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, I could not be ſaved—that is, not without the righteouſneſs of Chriſt.

Reſtored extraordinarily by a dream.

When I awaked, I was ſo much changed that I was amazed at myſelf at the ſuddenneſs of it; for I dreamed I was comforted and my heart filled with joy, and when I awaked it was ſo indeed. I ſtarted up and rebuked myſelf, ſaying, "Why, I am not damned! What's the matter? am I ſo filled with a fancy? with a ſudden hope of I know not what nor whence?" At which time I fell to pray, and whilſt I was praying I ſaid, "Lord, is this true? ſay, is it true? if it be ſo, let it be ſhown me that it is ſo." So I was perſuaded that the righteouſneſs of Chriſt was mine, and thus I had the firſt aſſurance of ſalvation, for that very ſame Scripture that before condemned me did now juſtify me, that is, in Chriſt. Well, with this joy I continued to this hour, holding and keeping ground againſt all temptations (which are infinite) that I have met with ever ſince. Yet Satan, my continual and never-ceaſing enemy, now began to muſter up afreſh more troubles againſt me, and to follow me with an hoſt of afflictions and temptations, as Pharaoh followed Iſrael with a purpoſe to deſtroy him. And ſee how a bird that is eſcaped out of the hand is hunted up and down by the boys; the doors are ſhut, the windows and holes ſtopped to hinder her eſcape, and ſee how they hunt her, throw their hats at her, ſcare her up and down till they think to tire her and make her fall into their fingers again. So did Satan ſet upon me, I may ſay a thouſand ways, by himſelf and his agents, to hunt me up and down, and to tire me out and to make me if he could fall into his fingers again, but that my God whom I unfeignedly ſerve from my ſoul did deliver me, does deliver me, and I truſt will deliver me, as the Apoſtle ſays. For though the Devil did uſe many ſnares, and beſet me ſo about, as you will hear, that it ſeemed ſcarce poſſible I ſhould eſcape, yet the Lord ſet me at liberty from the ſnares of the fowler, though ſometimes ſo ſubtlely laid that I could not diſcern them; and what he could not do by his fair inſinuations

Evangelical.

Confirmed and ſeconded by prayer and the Word.

And got into an aſſurance of ſalvation, and how.

Satan's freſh bouts.

2 Cor. i. 10.

and ſubtleties and inward motions and temptations, he tried to do by violence in tormenting me and making me the moſt object of affliction and miſery all about. For, to proceed, my friends became mine enemies, and my preciſeneſs was an eyeſore to many; near relations caſt me off, and I was looked upon as diſobedient for keeping company with ſuch as were godly Puritans and accounted then Roundheads, and for praying and holding communion with them (though commanded to the contrary). At length I found ſo little love and ſo much malice from ſome, that I was turned out of doors,* and forced, as men ſay, to ſeek my fortune—to fly with my own feathers, with three ſhillings and ſixpence or thereabouts, as I take it—to travel up and down in ſtrange countries, and that in the coldeſt winter time of the year; in ſnowy weather up to the knees very often, and whilſt the very icicles hung on my hair and cheeks a conflux of tears that came hot would thaw them, which fell abundantly from me in the open fields and highways, where none but God took notice of them. Yet I did often beg at poor cottages or ſo, but to come in to warm me or dry me, or for a draught of ſmall beer or ſo, which would make ſome poor ſouls fall a weeping to ſee me. But after many dangers and troubles, I footed it as far as Cambridge, where I ſought from college to college to be but a ſizer or poor ſcholar, (my little ſtock of money being all gone, and the ſervitors of King's College, of which I was one before, being diſmiſſed), but I could have no place, and I had no money, and I wanted bread, and that ſo long that all others failed to do anything for me, inſomuch I was forced for life to try all things, and eat leather, and drink water, and eat old quills and pens where I could pick them up out of the duſt, roaſted in a few coals which were left in

Greater afflictions.

Almoſt ſtarved at Cambridge.

* His father was "turned out of doors" alſo about this time (1642) by the Puritans.

the chamber where I was, and I aſſayed ſometimes to eat graſs, and did it; yea, I grew to that height of penury and famine that I ſometimes tried to eat my own fingers, biting them till I could endure it no longer; then tearing my hair and crying, I had recourſe to prayer, whereby the paſſion, it may be, would away for the preſent; but this continued ſo long that I met with temptations in the wilderneſs to turn ſtones into bread; and the Devil did often tempt me to ſtudy Necromancy and Nigromancy, and to make uſe of Magic, and to make a league with him, and that then I ſhould never want, but ſhew me as 'twere upon the pinnacle the glory of the world, ſo repreſented to me in my fancy, bidding me but obey him—that is, fall down and worſhip him, and I ſhould have both my bags of money by me and be honoured of all men and owned by all my friends, and go home with great riches and in great reſpect. But God would not ſuffer me to hearken to him, but to tell him, "Thou art a liar from the beginning; away, thou malicious accuſer of the brethren, tempt me not." And then I prayed and read the Scriptures, and writ holy meditations and ſoul-ſoliloquies on the 88th Pſalm, all in verſe very pathetical and ſuitable to my condition; and I began Dives and Lazarus here, and Lazarus and Dives hereafter, two books which I ſoon after concluded, uſing in it Engliſh, Latin, Italian, French—being very tragical, and all in verſe very ſuitable to my condition under ſeveral temptations; all which I had thoughts, with ſome others which I have by me, to have printed for public profit, but wanted a purſe; ſo that inſtead of Magical and Aſtrological ſtudies I bent my mind to holy meditations, ſoul comforting, Angelical and Evangelical contemplations. Yet I continued under ſtrong temptations; but, to the praiſe of God I ſpeak it, I think never was I a more growing Chriſtian than after Satan had theſe repulſes. But yet I muſt not omit to tell you that I had one other temptation firſt, which was almoſt irrecover-

Temptations ſtrong.

The Devil tempts to yield to him.

Is repulſed.

The Devil tempts another way.

able. For, finding myſelf almoſt ſtarved and pined to death, my ſtrength almoſt gone, my eyes ſunk deep in my head, and wearing death's colours, I was almoſt at my wits' ends, for now one temptation got ground and came on audaciouſly, and grew ſtrongly upon me, ſo that I could not eſcape it but it followed me. I took up the ſkin of my waſted hands and arms with a reſolution to tear it off for hunger, but in vain. The Devil had ſo beſotted me that I could ſee no ways to evade death; for I had been beholding to all the ſcholars I could find any courteſy in, to bring me ſcraps, or ſkins of ſalt fiſh, or ſomething or other, in their handkerchiefs or pockets, which kept me alive awhile, till at laſt they were all weary, and I waſted almoſt to death and aſhamed to beg openly about; and I was blinded as to any way that I could find to recover out of this condition. Wherefore after violent and never-ceaſing temptations, I drew my knife, whetted it ſharp, opened my doublet and ſhirt, and in the midſt of the room where I was alone kneeled down to prayer to ſurrender my ſoul up into the hands of God, my knife lying by me prepared, and I prepared for the act; when, behold, a door which I thought was bolted all the night before was but ſhut to, which a ſcholar opens, and with the ſcreeking of it made me ſtart up and throw my knife into the chimney in haſte, as aſhamed of what I was doing; and in comes the ſcholar to tell me of a place in Huntingdonſhire to teach gentlemen's children, at my Lord Brudenel's houſe, and how one of our college was ſent to but refuſed it; by which means I was recovered out of that eminent danger, and after the ſcholar was gone did exceedingly reprove and check myſelf for ſuffering this temptation to grow ſo upon me for want of faith, and was much afflicted at it; but, being now night, I went, as I uſe to do, ſupperleſs to bed (after duty), but my heart melting into abundance of tears—firſt for the ſin that I was about, and then for the love of God and his care

A moſt ſtrong temptation

to murder himſelf prepared,

but ſtrangely prevented.

Much afflicted for his ſin and yielding to Satan.

appearing for me; until, with an heart full, and head full, and eyes full, and all, I was fallen into a deep ſleep, and viſited with an extraordinary token from on high, both in dream and viſion, which hath been ſince accompliſhed (as I take it), and the laſt in Ireland the laſt year. The dream was this: That I was walking home to my Father's houſe with a ſtaff in my hand; and fearing leſt I ſhould be out of the way, I looked for the path, which at firſt I could ſcarce diſcern was a path, and began to look about and to queſtion it, till by and bye I perceived ſome footſteps of ſome that had gone that way; with that I went forward, and the further I went the plainer I perceived it to be the path, and that I was in the way, and I could ſee no other; at which I rejoiced, and went on confidently as if I feared no evil nor enemy, till I came to a fine, glorious, beautiful houſe and building on the left hand of me, out of which came forth a beam which reached a little croſs the way I was to go in; ſo that I being at a little ſtand at firſt, yet would not ſtoop under this beam, but ſtepped aſide and ſo paſſed away, laying my hand on it as I ſtepped by the ſide of it; but the houſe I thought was all in a flame of a ſudden; ſo that, being ſomething troubled thereat, I paſſed on in the way, wondering in myſelf what this ſhould be, till I was overtaken by ſome rude, violent, malicious men, that laid to my charge the ſetting this houſe on fire, and would not hear me ſpeak, but were harſhly haling me away to priſon, with which, being ſufficiently frighted and all my fleſh ſet a trembling, I awaked, and was offended with myſelf for being troubled at a dream—a fooliſh fancy; ſo I laid me (it being yet dark) and fell aſleep again, and was caſt into the ſame dream again word for word; and at my right hand I thought there was a grave, ancient man, full of white hairs like wool, a long white beard, who ſtood by me and bid me cheer up. "Fear not; for the Lord hath ſent me to comfort thee,

Comforted and confirmed in dream and viſion extraordinarily.

The dream is reiterated.

The dream interpreted in ſleep.

How firſt called to the Miniſtry in his ſleep.

and to tell thee that He hath choſen thee to preach His word and Goſpel of Chriſt, which is the ſtaff that thou haſt in thy hand, and which ſtaff (that is, the word of God) thou ſhalt walk home with to thy Father's houſe, i. e. Heaven, where is fulneſs of joy. But after a time thou wilt be troubled with the different opinions and ways of men, and ſeem at firſt to be at a loſs, but the Lord will be thy guide. Go on, and as thou goeſt forward the way of the Lord will lie clearer and clearer before your eyes; but the footſteps are the examples of the ſaints that have gone before you, which will be a great help unto you, and you ſhall walk cheerfully on in the way which is clear to you (than the which you ſhall ſee no other); but yet you muſt meet the fair houſe on the left hand, i. e. the glory and great ones of the world, who make a great and fair ſhow to men, as built high, but they muſt fall, and are but on the left hand of you, whilſt you will deſpiſe them, preach againſt them, and turn your eye looking forward to go on in the way of God, and turn not about; but the beam, that comes out of this great houſe which makes ſo much ſhow, is meant the powers and opinions of ſuch, which, whilſt ſomewhat croſs to the way, you ſtep aſide and will not ſtoop under, they are ſet on fire and inflamed of a ſudden; but be not troubled, go forward; although they will ſend after you ſaying you have brought this fire upon them, and they will falſely accuſe you, and ſeek to hale you away to priſon for this fact." At which I awaked again, this being morning, about daybreak, and being filled with confidence and comfort, I roſe up and writ it down preſently. And away I went that day towards Diddington in Huntingdonſhire, where the Lord Brudenel once lived, but was then ſequeſtered;* and one that the

Prophetical.

Partly performed of late in Ireland, as is well known; but I believe not wholly.

* An ordinance for ſequeſtering notorious delinquents' eſtates was paſſed April 1, 1643.

Committee put in had gentlemen's children to board with him, whom I afterward taught. But after all theſe deliverances I did multiply abundantly in gifts and graces, either to pray, expound, read, ſing hymns and ſpiritual ſongs. And finding the Lord ſo abundantly to endue me from above, and to qualify me for the call which I had before in the night for the miniſtry, which then I little meant or imagined could be (it being often reſolved againſt before by my father, and my books ordered to be packed up); but finding things following ſo fairly to concur, I was much confirmed in it that the Lord had deſigned me thereunto.

From that time how he grew fit for the Miniſtry.

2. Call to the Miniſtry.

At this time I came to be convinced of the Parliament's proceedings and cauſe to be more regular and in order to the great work that God hath to do in nations than the Kings, by comparing them together and bringing them to the Word, and then I ſaw clearly by the Word that God would do what he hath to be done by them, and for them, and for the Commonwealth.

It was not long after this that I was, by a godly people in Toſeland,* earneſtly importuned and at laſt prevailed with to preach the Goſpel, and I was ſoon known in the country, and after ſent for into Eſſex, where I ſettled, paſſing twice through the Aſſembly on examination and approbation.† So, although ever ſince I have met with many ſorts of afflictions and oppoſitions, lies, ſlanders, threatenings, libels, vows, and endeavours to take away my life, yet many have added teſtimony to the word I have delivered in all places, the Lord be praiſed, to the great refreſhing of my ſoul, and towards the making up of my

3. Call to preach.

4. Call.

Vide Epiſtle to Purleigh before the 2 Liber.

* A ſmall pariſh near St. Neots.

† He ſpeaks elſewhere of having received Preſbyterian orders in "the very firſt claſſis that ever was in England." Claſſes were fully organized nowhere except in Lancaſhire in the year 1646, and in London in 1647.

joy when I ſhall give an account (to their comfort) at the great day."

Either from choice or from neceſſity *Rogers* uſually alighted on diſturbed diſtricts. In 1642, a few months before he was turned out of his father's houſe at Meſſing, the civil war had broken out. In Auguſt, *Charles I.* had ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, and in October he had fought the indeciſive battle of Edgehill. During the following winter thoſe counties in which the parliamentary intereſt was ſufficiently ſtrong were forming themſelves into Aſſociations for mutual defence. The moſt influential of theſe was that of Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire, and Cambridge, to which Huntingdonſhire was afterwards annexed. It is known by the name of the Eaſtern Aſſociation, and was placed under the command of *Lord Grey of Wark* and *Oliver Cromwell*. *Rogers* muſt have paſſed through the centre of this newly-formed aſſociation between Meſſing and Cambridge in the winter of 1642-3. Poſſibly he overrates the dangers and troubles of the road; but in truth thoſe Eaſtern Counties, and eſpecially Cambridgeſhire, were at that time in a very diſturbed ſtate, and travellers were liable to inconveniences and interruptions, if not to poſitive dangers. A few months earlier *Sir John Bramſton*, then a young man, had travelled on horſeback through the ſame Aſſociation, on a miſſion from his father in Eſſex to the King at York, and his travelling experiences exemplify the ſort of trouble to which *Rogers* alſo would probably have been expoſed. "I went," he ſays, "from Skreenes thither (to York) in three days, ſtayed there one day, and returned home again to Skreenes in three days more on the ſame horſe. . . . As we went about Stanford we were directed by the watchman a way to avoid the town, the plague being there. . . . In our return on Sunday, near Huntingdon, between that and Cambridge, certain muſketeers ſtart out of the corn, and command us to ſtand, telling us we muſt be ſearched, and to that end we muſt go before *Mr. Cromwell*, and give account from whence we came, and whither we were going. I aſked where *Mr. Cromwell* was. A ſoldier told us he was four miles off. I ſaid it was unreaſonable to carry us out of our way; if *Mr. Cromwell* had been there I ſhould have willingly given him all the ſatisfaction he could deſire, and putting my hand into my pocket gave one of them twelve pence, who ſaid we might paſs."

Autobiography of Sir John Bramſton, Camden Soc. p. 85, 86.

Nor could he have choſen a more unlucky ſeaſon for reſidence at Cambridge. In Auguſt of the ſame year (1642) the Colleges had endeavoured to ſend their plate to the King, and "one *Maſter Cromwell*, burgeſs for the town of Cambridge, and then newly turned a man of war," was ſent by the Parliament to ſtop them. *Cromwell* ſurrounded the Colleges "while we were at our devotion in our ſeveral chapels," and carried away ſeveral heads of houſes and doctors of divinity priſoners to London. Towards the end of the year Cambridge was garriſoned for the Parliament, and from that time forward for nearly two years the Univerſity was haraſſed in every poſſible way: gownſmen were ill-uſed by ſoldiers, King's College Chapel was turned into a drill-room, other Colleges into barracks, and finally upwards of two hundred fellows and tutors were expelled. In 1664, *Rogers* thus alludes to the interruption of his ſtudies:—"Ultra jam duos vigintique annos elapſos doctrinæ ἰατρικῆς hujus hoſpes fueram . . . . . in Athenis Palæſtriſque noſtris donec inter arma non tantum leges, ſed etiam literæ omnes ſilebant, quum Bellona tantopere matribus truculenta ac formidoloſa, matri almæ Cantab. noſtræ bellicoſa fuiſſet, Minervamque Pierideſque noſtras e collegiis et poſſeſſione deturbaſſet."

Querela Cantab. 4, 5.

Again, when he left Cambridge, in 1643, and ſettled in Huntingdonſhire, he found that county alſo in a ſtate of diſorder. An ordinance of Parliament, dated 18th July, 1643, declares that "the weekly aſſeſſments for the County of Huntingdon have not yet been proceeded with, becauſe of the fears and diſtractions of that county; that the ſaid county being now become a frontier to the Aſſociated Counties of Cambridge, &c. is enforced through the emergent dangers to make extraordinary proviſion of foot and horſe for the ſafeguard of the ſaid county and the other Aſſociated againſt the incurſions of the plundering enemy, and that this has occaſioned extraordinary diſburſements of money, of which the committee of that county is utterly unprovided." And three weeks afterwards *Oliver Cromwell* wrote as follows:—

A collection of Orders, &c. publiſhed by authority of Parliament in 1646, p. 239.

"*For my noble Friends the Committee of the Aſſociation ſitting at Cambridge: Theſe*

"Huntingdon, 6 Aug. 1643.

"GENTLEMEN,

"You ſee by this Encloſed how ſadly your affairs ſtand. It's no longer diſputing, but Out inſtantly all you can! Raiſe all your

Bands; ſend them to Huntingdon; get up what Volunteers you can; haſten your Horſes.

"Send theſe letters to Norfolk, Suffolk and Eſſex without delay. I beſeech you ſpare not, but be expeditious and induſtrious! Almoſt all our foot have quitted Stamford; there is nothing to Interrupt an enemy, but our horſe, that is conſiderable. You muſt act lively; do it without Diſtraction! Neglect no means. I am

Your faithful Servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL."

Carlyle's Oliver Cromwell, Suppl. to 1ſt Ed. p. 15.

At this time *Rogers* came to be convinced of the juſtice of the Parliament's cauſe, and probably at this time alſo, and in Huntingdonſhire, he took up arms as a volunteer, and performed thoſe ſervices in the field againſt the common enemy of which he boaſted afterwards.

CHAPTER II.

ROGERS left Huntingdonſhire and returned to Eſſex in 1647 or 1648. About the ſame time he received Preſbyterian ordination, married a daughter of *Sir Robert Payne, Kt.*, of Midloe in Hunts, and became "ſettled Miniſter," or, in other words, Rector of Purleigh* near Maldon, a neighbourhood in which he muſt have been well known from his childhood. But he was too reſtleſs to "ſettle" anywhere. He hired a curate and betook himſelf to London. There he renounced his Preſbyterian ordination, joined the Independents, became Lecturer at St. Thomas Apoſtle's in the City, and preached violent political ſermons in ſupport of the Long Parliament, which was ſtill ſitting.

In 1650 the Parliament made an order "to ſend over ſix able miniſters to preach in Dublin, and they to have £200 per annum apiece out of Biſhops' and Deans' and Chapters' lands in Ireland. And in the mean time, the Lord Lieutenant to take care that it be paid out of the public revenue; and if any of thoſe miniſters die in that ſervice in Ireland, that the Parliament will make competent proviſion for their wives and children." And in the courſe of the next year *Rogers* was ſent to Ireland by the Council of State on this Miſſion. The government of the country was adminiſtered at that time by the Commiſſioners of the Engliſh Parliament; of theſe *Ireton* and *Ludlow* conducted the military, and *John Weaver*, *Miles Corbet*, and *Colonel John Jones* the civil adminiſtration. On

Whitelock, p. 445. March 12.

* Walker ſpeaks of Purleigh as "one of the beſt livings in thoſe parts." —*Sufferings of the Clergy*, part 2, p. 395.

his arrival, he found ſome of the Commiſſioners inſtalled at Dublin. The following order teſtifies to their care for his material comfort:—

" Dublin Caſtle,
22 Auguſt, 1651.

" Ordered that the Commiſſioners of Revenue at Dublin do forthwith enquire what ſtipends and tithes or other maintenance do belong to the Miniſters within the ſeveral pariſhes in the City of Dublin, and do certify the ſame to the Commiſſioners of Parliament. And they are likewiſe to provide two convenient houſes belonging to the Commiſſioners, for the pleaſant accommodation of *Mr. Rogers* and *Mr. Wyke* and their families."

Reid's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterian Church in Ireland, ii. 245.

Shortly afterwards the Commiſſioners aſſigned Chriſt Church Cathedral to him and his congregation as a place of worſhip, and cauſed his name to be added to the liſt of Independent Miniſters who were empowered to take order that the Goſpel was preached in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Ireland was in a very unſettled ſtate at this time. It was more than twelve months ſince *Cromwell* had returned to England after the ſhort and bloody campaign which commenced with the ſtorm of Drogheda and Wexford; but the war ſtill continued: *Ireton* was beſieging Limerick, where he met his death; while the Iriſh, if not actually beſieging, were at leaſt haraſſing and alarming Dublin. *Col. Hewſon*,* the governor of that city and of the adjoining diſtrict, gives a deplorable account of the ſtate of

* Col. Hewſon began life as a ſhoemaker. When the civil war broke out he joined the army as captain, " fought on ſtoutly, and in time became a colonel." In 1645 he commanded a regiment in the campaign of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and " manfully led the forlorn hope," at the ſtorm of Bridgewater. In 1649 he ſat in the High Court of Juſtice, and ſigned the King's death-warrant. In the ſame year he and his regiment accompanied Oliver Cromwell to Ireland, where he did good ſervice, and was appointed Governor of Dublin. He was a member of the Barebones and other Parliaments, of the Council of State in 1653 and 1659, and was knighted and raiſed to Cromwell's Houſe of Peers in 1657. Shortly before the Reſtoration he made himſelf very notorious and unpopular, by ſuppreſſing a riot of apprentices in the city with unneceſſary ſeverity.—*Anthony à Wood*, Faſt. 2, 78; *Sprigge's* Ang. Red., p. 70; *Whitelock*.

his command, in a letter dated Oct. 11, 1651, and publiſhed in the London newſpapers. The Iriſhry were ravaging the Engliſh territory, intercepting the Engliſh convoys, and ſtorming the Engliſh garriſons. *Fitzpatrick* had made uſe of the hay that lay about Caſtle Jordan to fire that Caſtle, and ſo "our men were all taken priſoners;" nay, "in my abſence they engaged my own troop, took 25, and killed 27." The letter, in ſhort, contains a catalogue of diſaſters, relieved, however, by the intelligence that Independency was flouriſhing. "The Goſpel takes bleſſed effect in this city; here is one church gathered, and they have choſen *Mr. Winter* for their paſtor, and another church embodied this day that have not yet choſen their paſtor, but I ſuppoſe they will pitch upon *Mr. Rogers*—both godly men."

Mercurius Politicus, Oct. 16-23, 1651.

Governor Hewſon and his wife joined the church of *Mr. Rogers*, and delivered in an account of their religious experiences, which may be read ſtill in "Bethſhemeſh." On the other hand, *Rogers* beſtowed his aſſiſtance upon *Col. Hewſon* in the field, boaſting afterwards before *Cromwell*, that in Ireland, as well as in England, he had "engaged in the field and expoſed his life to great dangers freely" for conſcience ſake. *Hugh Peters* had ſet him a notorious example in this reſpect.

But the patronage of theſe great perſonages was of no avail againſt ſectarian animoſities. The Anabaptiſts were now very powerful in Ireland; and a *Mr. Thomas Patient*, one of their preachers, who had been an army chaplain under *Cromwell*, and had ſettled at Waterford, created a ſchiſm in *Rogers'* congregation on the queſtion of adult baptiſm. *Rogers* was willing to concede a great deal, but he never would allow that it was neceſſary to re-baptize thoſe who had been already baptized as infants. *Patient*, on the other hand, and the Waterford Anabaptiſts, ſent a letter by the hands of *Adjutant-General Allen* and *Captain Vernon*, to divers of the Chriſt Church Congregation, urging them to admit none to communion who allowed infant baptiſm. "The Jews," they ſaid, "might as well have admitted uncircumciſed perſons to eat the Paſſover." Eventually *Rogers* became ſo annoyed by theſe diſſenſions that he threw up his appointment and returned to England, leaving *Mr. Thomas Patient* to preach at Chriſt Church in his place.

On his departure he received from the Commiſſioners for Ireland the following certificate:—

" Dublin Caſtle, 22 March, 1652.

" Whereas *Mr. John Rogers*, Miniſter of the Goſpel, was ſent over and recommended to us by divers worthy members of the Council of State for preaching the Word of God in Ireland, where he hath continued for the ſpace of — months, and being now deſirous to return for England, we thought fit to certify whom it may concern, that the ſaid *Mr. Rogers*, during his reſidence here, hath been painful and induſtrious in the work of the miniſtry; and we ſhall be glad that ſuch laborious, faithful inſtruments may receive encouragement to repair to this land for the refreſhing of poor ſouls, and for the propagating and carrying on the intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt there."

Reid, ii. 260.

On his return to England he declared his opinion of thoſe with whom he had been aſſociated in Ireland with his uſual freedom. He had no fault to find with the civil authorities; indeed, their example was one which the Engliſh might follow in ſome reſpects with very great advantage. "I am bound," he ſays, in an epiſtle to the Commiſſioners for the affairs of Ireland, "I am bound to bear teſtimony to your integrity and fidelity, and wiſh no worſe to England than your orderly and Goſpel-like way of maintaining the miniſtry in Ireland; not only that they have enough and to ſpare, as I know by experience of two hundred pounds* per annum, a very large allowance, and paid them tax free and without fail, quarterly, out of the Treaſury of Revenues, but in that they are not troubled with the thing called Tithes, nor with Pariſh cures,† not being placed as Pariſh Miniſters in pariſhes. So that their conſciences are not tied up to pleaſe men or malignant humours, as Parochial Miniſters and Tithe-mongers here do. The Lord ſend us ſuch an uſeful and orderly proviſion for the Miniſtry in England too, which will be the beſt means to ſet an honeſt, able, ſound, holy, and powerful Miniſtry amongſt us, and to caſt down thoſe wandering meteors, roving runagates, and thoſe unworthy, wicked Preachers in the nation, who are fatted with Tithes and good liquor, but very lean and

Bethſhemeſh, p. 28.

Great encouragement for Miniſters in Ireland.

The way to rout the rank, corrupt national Miniſtry.

* Said to be equal to about four or five times that amount of the preſent currency.

† A violent agitation againſt tithes and the parochial ſyſtem was being carried on in England at this time.

corrupt in good lives. But ſuch as theſe will up as long as Tithes and Pariſhes are up, having the old corrupt lives and ſottiſh ſuperſtitions and opinions of their pariſhioners to be their guard and wall of defence round about them. And by this means will malignant humours be maintained in the nation, and Pariſh Churches and orders and ordinances, and Common Prayers and croſſings and cringing, and ſuch accurſed ſtuff, be in moſt malignant pariſhes provided for; whilſt in Ireland theſe trumperies muſt tumble for want of maintenance, and the Godly Miniſtry hath the more thereby, for no others are allowed ſalaries or ſtipends by the State, but ſuch as are ſo reputed and approved of for godly and able."

But the compliments *Rogers* paid to the Commiſſioners of Ireland were not extended to the religious world of Dublin. During his ſojourn there he wrote a book, and on his return to England juſtice to his own reputation conſtrained him to publiſh it, for his enemies, not content with aſſailing him in Dublin, were ſlandering him by their emiſſaries in London alſo. A few extracts culled from this vindication will diſcloſe not only what he thought of his adverſaries, but alſo what they thought and ſaid of him, exemplifying a ſtate of feeling between paſtor and flock by no means uncommon then, and one which he in his own perſon very uſually provoked.

Why the Author writ this? For name's ſake.

"The author writ this" (among other reaſons) "for names' ſake. It is time to reſcue my name and reputation from thoſe baylies that have arreſted and roughly handled it at the Devil's ſuit out of malice. I have met with men like college butlers, who have ſet up apace upon honeſt men's names, and charged them to the full (with full-maliced and foul-mouthed aſperſions) which they will never wipe off again without I pay them (ſoundly) for it, which in time I may do more fully, before good witneſs too. So did ſome in Dublin, aſperſing my perſon and traducing the truth, poſſeſſing ſome people with ſtrange opinions of me, as if I held many errors, who therefore looked upon me as an outlandiſh man, made up of ſtrange faſhions. . . . . And indeed there was ſuch a neſt of hornets (which I knew not of, till ſtirring one I angered all) who came out all at once upon me ſo faſt that many feared I would loſe my life ere I got away; and indeed it is much mercy that I eſcaped them ſo well as I did, by the means of the moſt honourable Commiſſioners

The Author's ſufferings by evil tongues.

Bethſhemeſh, p. 50.

of Parliament's care of me and countenance to me. But now theſe perſecuting and unchriſtian ſpirits, not being ſatisfied to drive the poor, painful bees out of one hive into another, and from one nation to another, as they have done ſome, but to have the honey, which they would have, they will burn the bees; and therefore it ſeems they have ſent ſome (more anointed with brimſtone than with the unction of the Spirit) hither, to purſue here what they have begun ſo ungodlily there. I will not for a world deny my daily failings, for which my ſoul is kept continually low; I muſt have many grains allowed me to make me weight. 'Quiſnam ſine crimine vivit?' Gold hath droſs; ſome gravel will ſtick on the toes coming out of the pureſt bath. A good horſe may trip, too; but is it not better that the waters run, though they run but muddily, than not at all? Sibbs ſays it is, in his 'Smoking Flax,' p. 115. Why, then, do theſe crows light ſo upon the carrion? I will confeſs it to my diſgrace, as much as any man will have me, that I am ſubject to paſſion, and my heart is very proud and deceitful, and too ſelf-ſeeking, the Lord knows; and I hope I am ſo far from juſtifying my corrupt ſelf in the leaſt, that I am always almoſt charging it upon myſelf, and can as heartily complain of myſelf as any enemy I have in the world, even for thoſe things they ſay, as of pride, paſſion, &c.

The Author charges his own ſelf as much as they, and makes no account of himſelf, but as he is in a new ſelf.

"But, merciful friends! deal not too rigidly with me! . . . . *Scotus*, that famous ſchoolman, in a fit of apoplexy, was, by the cruel kindneſs of his over-officious friends, buried before he was dead. And ſo it ſeems I muſt be (might ſome have their wills) by the over-officious and cruel unkindneſs of ſome ſudden cenſures. But, pray ſtay! It is not the interpoſition of ſome clouds that hinders or fruſtrates the motion of the ſun. And, beſides, there is ſome light in the very ſpots of the moon; and ſo there may be in thoſe things which they account my ſpots, as paſſion (perhaps), it may be zeal, &c. For when I met with them, and took them by the hand, and prayed that there might be love, they called this hypocriſy. When I preached upon Job xxiii. 10, in Chriſt's Church (the Cathedral is ſo called), before the Commiſſioners in Dublin—viz. 'The Lord knoweth the way that I take, and when he hath tried me I ſhall come forth as gold,'—why? becauſe they had abuſed me abroad in the names of Pope, Hypocrite, Prieſt, Proud, Paſſionate, &c.—

Great miſtakes in their reports of the Author.

they ſaid I preached myſelf and ſought myſelf, with hundreds of ſuch paſſages, as would obviate any unbiaſſed underſtanding, and inform them how theſe reproaches are but the abortives of malice and miſinterpretation. Notwithſtanding, I ſay, I will not, nor can I, free myſelf from theſe that they accuſe me for, nor would I recriminate: and yet I muſt ſay I met with numberleſs provocations. Now the moſt exact archer, in ſhooting at the mark, may fail much when a man jogs him. And would it not vex a ſcrivener, after he had ſpent many hours in writing a large leaſe or patent, that one juſtling him purpoſely makes him blot ſo at the laſt word or line, that he muſt be forced to write all over again and to loſe all his labour? Such a plot there was to make me blot. But, bleſſed be God, Satan, I am ſure, loſt by it. . . . . And albeit they ſay I was not patient, I confeſs (when a very little ſpark made them like gunpowder fly in my face) I felt a ſore affliction to try my patience, to which ten for one have given a 'probatum eſt' under their hands. But as the huſband that told his wife he had one ill fault, viz. that he was given to be angry without a cauſe—'O,' ſays his wife, 'I will remedy that, I warrant ye; fear not that fault, I ſhall do well enough with you for all that, for I ſhall give you cauſe enough,'—ſo I have often acknowledged it to them that I was given too much to be impatient; but they have as often made it appear that they were as much given to give cauſe enough—I ſhould not want for that. And, indeed, for ſlandering they excel all that I know of.

Bethſhemeſh, Epiſtle to the Churches, p. 43—54.

Thus, dear friends, in a time of troubles and afflictions, diſtractions and diſturbances at Dublin, I began this treatiſe."

In truth, *Rogers* found himſelf at Dublin in a falſe poſition; his old-faſhioned views, as they were conſidered, on Infant Baptiſm alienated one half of his congregation, and his new-faſhioned views on other points, e.g. on religious toleration and the rights of women, alienated the reſt. For, "indeed in Dublin they did no ſooner eſpy an opinion with a ſtrange face, which they were not uſed to, within their doors, but they aſked whence he came and what he did there, and bid him be thruſt out by head and ſhoulders, or elſe carry him to the magiſtrates, to be laid by the heels; and thus they dealt with thoſe truths whoſe face they were not uſed to."

On his return from Dublin *Rogers* re-eſtabliſhed himſelf at St. Thomas Apoſtle's; ſhortly afterwards his pariſhioners in Eſſex

Bethſhemeſh, p. 48.

cited him for non-reſidence. The caſe was argued in Court, was decided againſt him, and he was deprived of the living. This kind of uſage very much troubled him; and he petitioned the Lords Commiſſioners for his reſtoration, but without ſucceſs. He bade farewell to his pariſhioners in an epiſtle, which he publiſhed a year afterwards in "Bethſhemeſh," and of which the following is the principal part:—

Bethſhemeſh, p. 229.

An Epiſtle to the Pariſh of Purleigh, in Eſſex, nigh Maldon, wherein the Author was ſettled Miniſter till of late:—

DEAR FRIENDS,—

I call you dear, not only that I found you at a dear rate, but I am forced to leave you ſo; yet ſome of you are very dear to me and in my heart, and whom I can freely bear in my boſom to the Father. But becauſe the death or departure of a Miniſter from his people ſhould be his laſt ſermon, I muſt therefore ſay in general to you this, that my greateſt grief for moſt of you is, that, like the cypreſs, the more you were watered the more you withered. Would it not grieve you, huſbandmen, to ſee your good ſeed every year to be loſt and to lie and rot under huge hard clods, and never to bring forth fruits or to come up? So how can it but be my complaints before my Lord and Maſter when I give up my accounts (Heb. xiii. 17), and ſay, Lord, I have preached! prayed! catechized! expounded! conferred for above this five years at Purleigh to ſuch a people, and they have not believed nor obeyed thy word, but many of them are as ignorant, arrogant, bitter, profane ſtill, ungodly and oppoſers of Chriſt and his Goſpel ſtill as ever. O ſad! what comfort can I have of this! Ah, it is too notoriouſly known that I have taken much pains to little purpoſe amongſt you; and yet, O! what plottings and conſpiracies there were againſt me! what lies and libels were invented! what ſcandals raiſed! what ſcoffs and ſcorns I continually met with! what huge taxes and troubles you

caſt upon me! what backbitings and railings every day! what variety of deſigns were hatched in the midſt of you to afflict me!—yea, with plotted and premeditated malice and menacings to undo me! what work you made to render me contemptible to all the country, before magiſtrates, miniſters, people and all; yea, the children and ſervants ſet upon me to abuſe me! yea, to ſtone me! yea, to ſwear to take away my life from me! All which forced me to be much abſent from you. And O, friends, do ye think God will not viſit you for theſe things? Have ye not ſuffered your ſervants and children to laugh and ſport in the public places openly in the ſight of all the people whilſt the Word hath been preaching, and when I have mildly reproved them, to make mows and mocks at me in the open church—yea, to lay dog-whips and what not on the pulpit cuſhion when I was to preach? What kind of injury and abuſes have you not returned to me for all my love and pains, and care and continual prayers for you! Hath there one poor ſoul of us in Church communion eſcaped your malice and menacing, and your diligence to raiſe ill reports, and to cauſe wrongs to befall them? Have ye not vowed not to leave us till you had rooted all of us from you, and not left a Roundhead or Independent to dwell nigh you? Have ye not conſulted with all the Malignants about how to bring to paſs theſe deſigns, yet in the midſt of all theſe troubles and every-day new trials and wrongs from ſome or other of you, yet the Lord will one day witneſs what a care I had of you, when I could not be with or durſt not, how I provided for you, and how ye were the travail, as well as the trouble, of my ſoul. Yet when you had not worried me away with all this, how often did many of you deſign to ſtarve me from you. And though like a bird kept in a cage without meat, yet I muſt do my duty, and ſing, though the thorn were ever at my breaſt. Still I followed you with love, patience, pity to

your poor miſerable ſouls (O that ye knew it!) and with ſweat and ſwink, praying, preaching, and expounding, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon.

But as I have heard of the Seminary in Lancaſhire, riding diſguiſed, that loſt his glove, one that found it rode galloping after him to reſtore it; but the Seminary fearing he was a Purſuivant, put ſpurs to horſe and flew from him as faſt as he could, and for fear he ſhould be overtaken, he makes his horſe take a hedge, and ſuddenly ſkipping over, fell full into a deſperate deep pit, wherein he was drowned preſently. O ſo, Sirs, the faſter I have followed you to do good, to recover you, to help to ſave you, why, alas! the faſter you fled away into ſin, after ſin rejecting all offers and opportunities almoſt, refuſing to come to hear the Word on the week-day, and many of you not coming above once on the Lord's day. Oh, alas! for the Lord's ſake, hear, make not ſuch poſt-haſte in ſin, to the ruin of your ſoul, body, and all; but, O, remember, the pit is but on the other ſide; ye may ſoon be in it, but have a care leſt you periſh. Have I not ſpent out my own bowels, and, like a candle, conſumed myſelf even out to give you light? Have I thought my life too dear for your ſouls? O no, but you would not regard it. Some pretended I was young, to keep them off; but alas! this was but a colour. Did not young *Solomon* give good counſel, young *Daniel* diſcern much, young *Joſeph* fill the granary with plenty, and excel all the grandees and gravities in *Pharaoh's* Court for wiſdom and judgment? Did not young *Timothy* preach the Goſpel powerfully and profitably? But indeed the main offence you know was my zeal for God, for ſilence is the baſeſt tenure a Miniſter can hold his living by. I could not be ſilent, but tell *Israel* of his ſins and *Jacob* of his tranſgreſſions.

Thus having ſtood ſentinel all this while among you, though I muſt be juſtled aſide now from you, I have given

you warning, and ſo will leave you. And being thus to part, I ſhall ſay with *Syneſius*, I carry nothing from Purleigh (of πῦρ and λαὸς, fire and people) but "bonam conſcientiam et malam valetudinem," — a good conſcience, an ill conſtitution, and an empty purſe (being denied by you the bread I have earned with ſweating brows). Yet the Lord ſhow you mercy and melt your hearts. And ſo farewell, dear hearts, farewell.

The Author's leave of Purleigh, and he may ſay of England.

Your affectionate friend and late your Miniſter in the hot bowels of love to you, yet ready to ſerve the meaneſt and worſt of you in the work of my Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, in and for whom I am

JOHN ROGERS.

From my Study at Thomas Apoſtle's,
Lond. March 25, 1653.

Rogers returned from Dublin to London in March or April, 1652 —that is to ſay, about ſeven months after the defeat of *Charles II.* at Worceſter, about twelve months before the diſſolution of the Long Parliament, and a few weeks before the beginning of the war between the Engliſh and the Dutch.* In England the ſtruggle between the Independents and Preſbyterians had ended in the aſcendancy of the former; in Parliament a ſeries of deſertions, "ſeclusions," and proſcriptions had left ſcarcely any but the Independents ſitting; and in the army, both officers and men, from the *Lord General Cromwell* downwards, were of the Independent or of ſome kindred ſect. But, though the Preſbyterians had been purged out of Parliament and the army, they were ſtill ſtrong among the lawyers and parochial clergy; and now the Independents and other ſectaries began to clamour loudly for law reform and the abolition of tithes. If theſe two meaſures could be carried, lawyers and clergy would fall, and the triumph of the Independents would be complete.

* The Dutch ambaſſadors took their final departure from London on the 30th of June, 1652. But the firſt naval engagement between *Blake* and *Van Tromp* had taken place in May.

Beſides the conteſt between Preſbyterians and Independents, there was heart-burning alſo between the Parliament and the Army. The Parliament propoſed to reduce the Army; in retaliation the Army preſſed for "a new Repreſentative"—that is to ſay, for the diſſolution of the exiſting Parliament and the election of another.

Rogers threw himſelf into all theſe ſtruggles with his whole force, ſiding, of courſe, with the Independents againſt the Preſbyterians, and with the Army againſt the Parliament. He wrote books againſt the Preſbyterian Clergy, he preached and propheſied againſt the Parliament, and he both wrote and pleaded againſt the Lawyers.

His enemies aſſerted that his animoſity againſt clergy and lawyers originated in perſonal reſentment againſt *Serjeant Maynard*,* the eminent lawyer, and *Zachary Crofton*, a Preſbyterian Miniſter. *Maynard* had been counſel againſt him in the Purleigh caſe, had obſtructed his preferment on another occaſion, and, moreover, had inſulted him, as he conceived, in open court. *Rogers* had a keen ſenſe of any injuſtice or indignity offered to himſelf, and the account he gives of this laſt affront ſhows perhaps that the allegations of his enemies againſt his temper were not wholly groundleſs.

Corrupt lawyers.

"Little leſs ſaid one of the corrupt lawyers, viz. *Mr. Maynard*, to me laſt March, before the Lords Commiſſioners of the Seal,† in the Parliament Chambers at the Temple, whilſt he was pleading the law for a Delinquent, Malignant Patron, over and over an open notorious enemy and cavalier againſt God and State, yet, having compounded, he muſt have the power to preſent a man of a wicked, malignant ſpirit—none elſe, and known for ſwearing, company-

* *Serjeant Maynard* was born at Taviſtock in 1602, was member for Totnes in the Long Parliament, and one of the managers of the impeachment of the *Earl of Strafford*, "whom," ſays *Anthony Wood*, "he baited to ſome purpoſe in the name of the Commons of England." Afterwards he performed the ſame office by *Archbiſhop Laud*. He, with other Preſbyterians, withdrew from the Long Parliament before the King's death. *Macaulay* deſcribes him as being, in 1689, "by univerſal acknowledgment the moſt ſubtle and the moſt learned of Engliſh juriſts."—*Hiſt. of Engl.* iv. 32.

† The Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal at this time were *Whitelock*, *Keeble*, and *John L'Iſle*.

keeping, and other vices; and he muſt force ſuch an one upon the poor people that never heard him ſo much as preach, to the joy of all the malignant, godleſs wretches in the country all about. . . . This *Mr. M.*, (one of the caſt-out members of the Houſe, I hear), pleading for this cauſe of the Devil (for I dare call it no other), much offended me, inſomuch that I was urged in conſcience to ſay before the Lords Commiſſioners, 'Sir, the Acts of the Apoſtles had been your beſt ſtatute book in this buſineſs about ſouls; you uſe not God's word.' But before I could go further, he punched me aſide, with ſome abuſive, foul-mouthed language, (as I hope ere long to declare to the world), ſaying, 'What do ye tell us of the word? we have the law,' &c. So the lawyers puſhed me aſide. But what a ſad thing is this, that ſuch laws and ſuch lawyers ſhould be ſuffered; and how can a good Reformation be laid upon ſo baſe a foundation? They are the lawyers all this while that have hindered the Reformation, and ſo they will as long as they have ſuch influence upon the Parliament."

They mock at the Word.

Lawyers hinder reformation.

Bethſhemeſh, p. 220-3.

Zachary Crofton's offence was of a deeper dye. On his return from Dublin *Rogers* had eſtabliſhed a Friday evening exerciſe or lecture at St. Thomas Apoſtle's, to which he attracted a large congregation. Shortly afterwards an anonymous pamphlet was publiſhed, entitled, "A Taſte of the Doctrine of Thomas Apoſtle," in which he and his exerciſe were ſeverely handled; the authorſhip was attributed, apparently with truth, to *Crofton*, the Preſbyterian Miniſter of Garlick Hythe. It was imprudent to attack anonymouſly a man who was ſo regardleſs of conventionalities and ſo unſcrupulous about perſonalities as his antagoniſt; and *Zachary Crofton* found himſelf dragged into light as the author of the pamphlet with the leaſt poſſible delay. "*Memnon*, the General of *Darius* his army, hearing a mercenary ſoldier with vile language revile *Alexander* and exclaim againſt him, he ſtruck him with a lance, ſaying he hired him to fight againſt him, not to rail upon him. Clamours againſt a very enemy require rather reproof than praiſe; and I think there was no man much commended, but much condemned that poor, empty, wide-mouthed libeller of Garlick-hithe for his pamphlet he put out lately, whereby he hath brought himſelf into the report and reproof of all that hear his name, which may be eminently up and famous ere long in London, as it is in Cheſhire and other places. I had, I confeſs, a full character of him indeed by *Maſter Mainwaring*, one that

As that libeller that put out The Taſte of Doctrine at Tho. Apoſtle's.

knew him well in Cheſhire, at my *Lord Bradſhaw's* table lately; whilſt *Sir William Brereton*,* with an eminent Miniſter that knows him highly too, was by, and gave ſo good account of him that I cannot but wonder how he could end in one lying, impudent pamphlet, and like a ſquib too dry, it ſeems, flaſh all out at once."

Bethſhemeſh, p. 226-7.

About this time the Fifth-Monarchy-Men were attracting much attention. *Rogers* joined their ranks, and became quickly one of their leading miniſters. They were a ſmall but determined body of men, recruited chiefly from among the more enthuſiaſtic Independents. They believed that the age of the four firſt monarchies—the Aſſyrian, Perſian, Greek, and Roman, had paſſed or was rapidly paſſing away, that *Chriſt* was now coming to reign perſonally and viſibly in the fifth, and that when he came he would utterly deſtroy all thoſe anti-chriſtian Kings, Prieſts and Lawyers who now ſat on his throne and uſurped his powers. Then the ſaints would poſſeſs the earth, ruling it under *Chriſt* as his miniſters, and executing juſtice upon all his enemies. They believed alſo, and declared that, in anticipation of his coming, the preſent work urgently incumbent on the Saints was "to bring things as near as might be before *Chriſt* comes to what they ſhall be when he is come."

Old leaven purged out, p. 56.

They were in hot haſte to commence this preparatory work; and paſt ſucceſs had ſo intoxicated them that they ſaw no appalling difficulty in it. The ſword of the Saints had overthrown an anti-chriſtian church, had beheaded a bloody tyrant, and had conquered three kingdoms. That ſword, they thought, was in their hands; and here in England nothing remained to withſtand them but Preſbyterian prieſts, corrupt lawyers, and a ſuperannuated Parliament.

When the ſaints had firmly eſtabliſhed their dominion in England and had pulled down Antichriſt there, then they would wage war againſt the enemies of *Chriſt* and the oppreſſors of his people over the whole earth. Never ſhould the curſe of Meroz be applied to them—"Curſe ye Meroz; curſe ye bitterly the inhabit-

* *Bradſhaw* and *Brereton*, as well as *Mainwaring* and *Crofton*, were Cheſhire men. In 1644 *Sir William Brereton* was authorized by Parliament to eject all ſcandalous and ill-affected miniſters in Cheſhire, and to nominate others in their place.—*Scobell's Acts and Ordinances*, pt. 1, p. 67.

ants thereof, becauſe they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord againſt the mighty."

Of courſe it was more eaſy to juſtify theſe viſions from the Old Teſtament than from the New; and accordingly it was in the Old Teſtament that they ſought for laws, maxims, precedents, and examples. There, too, they found thoſe texts which, when neceſſary, they could wreſt into their ſervice, either to palliate a piece of folly or to ſanctify a crime. Such were, for example, "The ſaints ſhall take the kingdom and poſſeſs the kingdom;"* "The ſword of the Lord and of Gideon;" "Curſed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully;"† "Overturn, overturn, overturn;"‡ and the latter part of the 149th Pſalm—"Let the ſaints be joyful with glory, let them rejoice in their beds; let the praiſes of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged ſword in their hands, to be avenged of the heathen, and to rebuke the people; to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron: that they may be avenged of them, as it is written, Such honour have all his ſaints."

As the Goſpel of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men was to be propagated with the ſword, ſo the ſect itſelf ſeems to have originated in the army. Many officers of the higheſt reputation belonged to it, or at the leaſt ſympathized with it. Such were *Major-General Harriſon*, *Colonels Alured*, *Overton*, *Okey*, *Rich*, and *Danvers*,

* "But the ſaints of the Moſt High ſhall take the kingdom, and poſſeſs the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever. . . . . And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven, ſhall be given to the people of the ſaints of the Moſt High, whoſe kingdom is an everlaſting kingdom; and all dominion ſhall ſerve and obey him."—*Dan.* vii. 18, 27.

† "Curſed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully [in margin 'negligently,'] and curſed be he that keepeth back his ſword from blood."—*Jer.* xlviii. 10. South ſpeaks of Harriſon as being "notable for having killed ſeveral after quarter given them by others, and uſing theſe words in the doing it—'Curſed be he,' &c."—*South's Sermons*, ii. 422.

‡ "Thus ſaith the Lord God, Remove the diadem and take off the crown; this ſhall not be the ſame; exalt him that is low, and abaſe him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it ſhall be no more, until he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it him."—*Ezek.* xxi. 26, 27.

Quartermaſter-General Courtney, *Adjutant-General Allen*, and others; beſides men of inferior rank, ſuch as *Spittlehouſe*, *Cornet Day*, and *Buttiphant*, of *Cromwell's* own life-guard—active, intriguing men, of conſiderable influence amongſt their equals. Theſe men generally were notorious as men who would neither ſpare their own blood nor the blood of others in the "Good Cauſe." *Cromwell* grudged no pains to gain them over to himſelf, and the baits he offered were the downfall of clergy and lawyers, and "No king but Jeſus."

This general account of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men would not be complete without more particular reference to *Major-General Harriſon*, their leader; both becauſe in ability, reſolution, and reputation he far ſurpaſſed all other members of his party, and becauſe he will appear hereafter in perſonal and familiar aſſociation with *Rogers*.

The ſon of a grazier in Staffordſhire, he received a fair education at Nantwich, and was indentured afterwards to an attorney in Clifford's Inn. When the war broke out he joined the army of the Parliament as a cornet of horſe, and ſteadily roſe to diſtinction. In 1645 he ſerved the campaign under *Fairfax* as major, and afterwards colonel of *Fleetwood's* regiment, and is particularly mentioned in connection with the battle of Naſeby and the ſtorm of Baſing Houſe. *Hugh Peters* ſays, in a narrative of what fell under his own eyeſight after the ſtorm of Baſing Houſe:—"In the ſeveral rooms and about the houſe were ſlain ſeventy-four, and only one woman, the daughter of *Dr. Griffith*, who by her railing provoked our ſoldiers, then in heat, into a further paſſion. There lay dead upon the ground *Major Cuffle*, a man of great account amongſt them and a notorious Papiſt, ſlain by the hands of *Major Harriſon*, that godly and gallant gentleman, and *Robiſon* the player, who a little before the ſtorm was known to be mocking and ſcorning the Parliament and our army." Readers of *Sir Walter Scott* will remember *Roger Wildrake's* verſion of the death of "poor *Dick Robiſon* the player" by the hand of the butcher *Harriſon*.

Sprigge's Anglia Rediviva, p. 139.

In 1647 he received the thanks of the Houſe of Commons for his ſervices in Ireland. But perhaps his behaviour to *Charles I.* in 1648-9 is that by which he was then beſt known, and may ſtill be beſt appreciated. In 1648 he was charged with the reſponſibility of guarding the King as a priſoner from Hurſt Caſtle to

Windſor. The following account of the journey, condenſed from *Anthony Wood*, will not perhaps be thought wholly inadmiſſible, in conſideration of the light it throws on the characteriſtics of a man who was to his party the hero, ſaint, and martyr of their cauſe. *Major Harriſon* reached Hurſt Caſtle, where the King was confined, unexpectedly and at midnight. The noiſe awakened the King, who was in ſome marvel to hear the drawbridge let down at that unſeaſonable hour. When he heard the cauſe, he told *Herbert*, his groom of the chambers, that this was the man who intended to aſſaſſinate him, as he had been informed by letter. The major tarried two nights at Hurſt Caſtle; and when it was dark, having given orders for the King's removal, he departed to the place from whence he came. A week afterwards the King was conveyed by a party of horſe from Hurſt to Windſor. Near Farnham *Major Harriſon* appeared at the head of another party, to the end that he might bring up the rear. His party was drawn up in good order, by which his Majeſty was to paſs; and the major in the head of them, gallantly mounted, with a velvet montier on his head and a new buff coat on his back, with a crimſon ſilk ſcarf about his waiſt, richly fringed. As the King paſſed by on horſeback with an eaſy pace, as delighted to ſee men well horſed and armed, the major gave the King a bow with his head, a ſoldade which his Majeſty requited. This was the firſt time that the King ſaw the major; at which time *Thomas Herbert*, groom of the chambers, "from whom" (ſays *Wood*) "I had this ſtory," riding a little behind the King, his Majeſty called him to come near, and aſked him who that captain was; and being told by him that it was *Major Harriſon*, the King viewed him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes ſo ſteadily upon him as made the major abaſhed, and fall back to his party ſooner than probably he intended. The King ſaid he looked like a ſoldier, and that his aſpect was good, and found him not ſuch an one as he was repreſented; and that, having judgment in faces, if he had obſerved him ſo well before he ſhould not have harboured that ill opinion of him. That night the King got to Farnham, where he was lodged at a private gentleman's houſe; and a little before ſupper, his Majeſty, ſtanding by the fire in a large wainſcoated parlour, and in diſcourſe with the miſtreſs of the houſe, the King, notwithſtanding the room was pretty full with army officers and country people that crowded in to have a ſight of him, did at length ſee the major at the farther

Athenæ, ii. 590. Faſti, ii. 76.

end of the parlour, talking with another officer; whereupon, beckoning to him with his hand to come nearer, he did ſo accordingly with due reverence; and his Majeſty, taking him by the arm, drew him aſide towards the window, where for half-an-hour or more they did diſcourſe together. Amongſt other things, the King minded him that he had received information concerning the murder that he had intended on him in the Iſle of Wight, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worſt ſenſe to his perſon. The major, in his vindication, aſſured his Majeſty that what was reported of him was not true, yet he might report that the law was equally obliging to great and ſmall, and that juſtice had no reſpect of perſons; which his Majeſty finding affectedly ſpoken and to no good end, went to his ſupper, being all the time very pleaſant, which was no ſmall rejoicing to them there, to ſee him ſo cheerful in that company and in ſuch a dolorous condition.

Harriſon conducted the King ſafely to Windſor, and again from Windſor to St. James's, in order to his trial, and ſat with him in the coach with his head covered, and talked with little or no reverence to him; and when the King propoſed to him, "What do they intend to do with me, whether to murder me or not?" the major made anſwer that there was no intention to kill him: "We have no ſuch thought; yet the Lord hath reſerved you for a public example of juſtice."

Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 224-6.

According to Clarendon, the officers about this time conſulted frequently what to do with the King. Some were for depoſing him, others for taking away his life by poiſon; a third party, headed by *Ireton* and *Harriſon*, would not endure either of the other ways, and urged his being brought to juſtice in the ſight of the ſun; and this party carried their point.

Harriſon ſat in the High Court of Juſtice, and ſigned the King's death-warrant.

In 1651, when *Oliver Cromwell* was in Scotland, *Harriſon*, as major-general, was left in charge of Cumberland and the borders. When the Scotch army marched into England, he attended and haraſſed it. Afterwards he and *Cromwell* united their forces before Worceſter, where *Charles II.* and the Scotch army were finally defeated. *Harriſon* with the cavalry had charge of the purſuit.

At the time of the diſſolution of the Long Parliament, he was M.P. for Wendover and Ayleſbury, and a member of the Council

of State. Clarendon ſays, "There were few men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the conduct of anything committed to him." Clarendon, vi. 220.

Baxter ſays of him, that he was like *Cromwell*, who would not openly profeſs what opinion he was of, but was moſt inclined to Anabaptiſm and Antinomianiſm. "He would not diſpute with me at all," ſays *Baxter*, "but he would in good diſcourſe very fluently pour out himſelf in the extolling of free grace, which was ſavoury to thoſe that had right principles, though he had ſome miſunderſtandings of free grace himſelf. He was a man of excellent natural parts for affection and oratory, but not well ſeen in the principles of his religion; of a ſanguine complexion, naturally of ſuch vivacity, hilarity, and alacrity as another man hath when he hath drunken a cup too much, but naturally alſo ſo far from humble thoughts of himſelf that it was his ruin." Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, pt. i. p. 57.

Harriſon uſed to ſcandalize the Puritans by the gaiety of his attire. *Mrs. Hutchinſon*, who was ſtrongly prejudiced againſt him, tells a ſtory of his perſuading *Colonel Hutchinſon* and others to come to the Houſe of Commons on ſome great occaſion in plain black ſuits, after which he appeared himſelf "in a ſcarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and ſilver lace, and the coat ſo covered with clinquant (foil) that one ſcarcely could diſcern the ground: and in this glittering habit he ſet himſelf juſt under the Speaker's chair; which made the other gentlemen think that his godly ſpeeches the day before were but made that he alone might appear in the eyes of ſtrangers. But this was part of his weakneſs; the Lord at laſt lifted him up above theſe poor earthly elevations, which then and ſome time afterwards prevailed too much with him." Mem. of Col. Hutchinſon, p. 348.

The hiſtory of the diſſolution of the Long Parliament (April 20, 1653,) has been told ſo often, and is ſo well known, that it would be unneceſſary to repeat it, except for the ſake of ſhowing how *Oliver Cromwell* made uſe of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men in preparing the way for his deſign, and of *Harriſon* in executing it.

Contemporary writers ſtate that *Cromwell* at this time made "higher pretences to honeſty than ever he had done before, thereby to engage *Major-General Harriſon*, *Colonel Rich*, and their party to himſelf. To this end he took all occaſions in their preſence to aſperſe the Parliament as not deſigning to do thoſe good things they pretended to, but rather intending to ſupport the corrupt intereſts of the clergy and lawyers." And he "did induſ-

Ludlow, ii. 449.

triouſly publiſh that they were ſo in love with their ſeats that they would uſe all means to perpetuate themſelves." "Every other day almoſt more faſts or ſome ſuch religious exerciſe was managed by *Cromwell* and *Harriſon*, who mainly promoted the ſame propoſals for a new Repreſentative, in order to the perſonal reign of Chriſt; and that therefore it was high time the Government was placed in the hands of his ſaints, for all the prophecies thereof were now ready to be fulfilled; and this was cried up as the doctrine of the times. *Cromwell* ſeemed to be of the ſame judgment and of that Millenary principle. . . . . So that he had abſolutely fooled *Harriſon* into a confidence of his good intentions, and that he aimed not at his own greatneſs; and thereupon all the party *Harriſon* could make, which was *Feak's*, *Rogers'*, and *Simpſon's* congregations, were impatient to have the Parliament outed, and their fine module to take place, wherein righteouſneſs and holineſs ſhould be exalted in the kingdoms of the world." "Divers of the clergy from their pulpits began to prophecy the deſtruction of the Parliament, and to propoſe it openly as a thing deſirable. Inſomuch that the General, who had all along concurred with this ſpirit in them, hypocritically complained to *Quartermaſter-General Vernon*,* "that he was puſhed on by two parties to do that the conſideration of the iſſue whereof made his hair to ſtand on end. One of theſe," ſaid he, "is headed by *Major-General Lambert*. . . . . Of the other *Major-General Harriſon* is the chief, who is an honeſt man, and aims at good things, yet, from the impatience of his ſpirit, will not wait the Lord's leiſure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honeſt men will have cauſe to repent." *Cromwell* joined "with *Major-General Harriſon*, being confident that when he had uſed him and his party to diſſolve the preſent Government, he could cruſh both him and them at his pleaſure; and though it was no difficult matter to diſcover this, yet thoſe poor, deluded, however well-meaning men, would not believe it."

Heath's Flagellum, p. 124, 125.

Ludlow, ii. 449.

Do. p. 454.

In the meantime the ſitting members of the Long Parliament had ſeen that a diſſolution was inevitable; but they hoped to anticipate the deſigns of *Cromwell* by a bill which they had prepared themſelves. This bill, however, contained clauſes which were

* Quartermaſter-General Vernon (ſometimes called Captain Vernon) was a rigid Anabaptiſt, and a ringleader of the party which drove Rogers out of Ireland (*vide* p. 29). He preached violently againſt the Protectorate.

wholly incompatible with *Cromwell's* plans; and accordingly, he was reſolved that it ſhould never paſs. On the morning of April 20th, 1653, Parliament met as uſual at Weſtminſter, and *Sir Henry Vane* aroſe and preſſed for the paſſing the bill immediately. At this time *Cromwell*, with ſome of his officers, was in council at Whitehall; while *Harriſon* and others were in their places in Parliament. By theſe laſt a meſſenger was hurried off to ſummon *Cromwell*. *Sir Henry Vane* ſat down, and *Major-General Harriſon* roſe, and "moſt ſweetly and humbly deſired" the members to lay the bill aſide, ſhowing them the danger of it. *Harriſon* ſat down, *Vane* roſe to reply, and *Cromwell* arrived. Calling to *Harriſon*, who was on the other ſide of the Houſe, to come to him, he told him that he judged the Houſe ripe for a diſſolution, and this to be the time of doing it. The major-general anſwered, (as he ſince told me, ſays Ludlow), "Sir, the work is very great and dangerous; therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it before you engage in it." "You ſay well," replied the General, and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an hour; and then, the queſtion for paſſing the bill being to be put, he ſaid again to *Major-General Harriſon*, "This is the time—I muſt do it;" and ſuddenly ſtanding up, made a ſpeech wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vileſt reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do anything for the public good, to have eſpouſed the corrupt intereſts of Preſbytery and the lawyers, who were the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion, accuſing them of an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power, had they not been forced to the paſſing of this act, which, he affirmed, they deſigned never to obſerve; and thereupon told them that the Lord had done with them, and had choſen other inſtruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy.

"Several Proceedings in Parliament," April 14-21, No. 186.

Ludlow, ii. 455.

Do. p. 456.

Cromwell then called in the ſoldiers; "whereupon the ſergeant attending the Parliament opened the doors, and *Lieutenant-Colonel Worſley*, with two files of muſketeers, entered the Houſe; which *Sir Henry Vane*, obſerving from his place, ſaid aloud, 'This is not honeſt; yea, it is againſt morality and common honeſty!' Then *Cromwell* fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O, *Sir Henry Vane! Sir Henry Vane!* the Lord deliver me from *Sir Henry Vane!*' Then, pointing to the Speaker in his chair, he ſaid to *Harriſon*, 'Fetch him down.' *Harriſon* went to the Speaker and ſpoke to him to come down; but the

Do. p. 457.

Speaker ſat ſtill and ſaid nothing. Then *Harriſon* went and pulled the Speaker by the gown, and he came down. It happened that *Algernon Sidney* ſat next to the Speaker, on the right hand. The General ſaid to *Harriſon*, 'Put him out.' *Harriſon* ſpake to *Sidney* to go out; but he ſaid he would not go out, but ſat ſtill. The General ſaid again, 'Put him out.' Then *Harriſon* and *Worſley* (who commanded the General's own regiment of foot) put their hands upon *Sidney's* ſhoulders, as if they would force him to go out. Then he roſe and went towards the door. Then the General went to the table where the mace lay, which uſed to be carried before the Speaker, and ſaid, 'Take away theſe baubles.' So the ſoldiers took away the mace."

Leiceſter's Journal, p. 141, quoted in Forſter's Oliver Cromwell, ii. 63.

In the afternoon of the ſame day *Cromwell*, attended by *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, came to the Council of State, where *Bradſhaw* was preſiding, and diſſolved that alſo.

Whitelock ſays the diſſolution of Parliament "occaſioned much rejoicing in the King's party, who now daily expected the deſtruction of *Cromwell* and his party and army, yet made great applications and congratulations to him. Thoſe of the Parliament's party were at a ſtand; divers fierce men, paſtors of churches, and their congregations, were pleaſed at it, and generally the officers and ſoldiers of the army."

Whitelock, April 20, 1653, p. 555.

Cromwell convened a meeting of the chief officers of the army at Whitehall, on the 21ſt, the day after the diſſolution; and during the next ten days he and this Council were "buſy in conſultation to find out a new Government and Governor for their Commonwealth." The creation of a Council of State was the firſt difficulty; and the propoſals made when the ſubject was debated were very characteriſtic of the times and the men. "*Major-General Lambert* moved that a few perſons, not exceeding the number of ten or twelve, might be entruſted with the ſupreme power. *Major-General Harriſon* was for a greater number—inclining moſt to that of ſeventy, being the number of which the Jewiſh Sanhedrim conſiſted;" and *Okey* and others were for thirteen, in imitation of Chriſt and his twelve apoſtles.

Do. p. 555.

Ludlow, ii. 462. Forſter's Oliver Cromwell, ii. 129.

While the officers were debating, *Rogers* was writing; and, five days after the diſſolution of Parliament, he publiſhed his opinion of the criſis, with a ſcheme of his own for a new Government. It muſt be obſerved that the following, and the four ſimilar letters which will appear hereafter, although not encum-

bered with the uſual ſigns of omiſſions, contain yet little more than ſcanty extracts from the letters originally publiſhed :—

To his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell : *a few propoſals relating to Civil Government, humbly offered by* John Rogers, *an unworthy ſervant of Chriſt, and preacher of the Goſpel, now at Tho. Apoſtles, London.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—

Whilſt my ſoul is boiling over into earneſt prayers to the Great Jehovah for wiſdom, counſel, and courage for you in this exigency of importance, as the great deliverer of His people through God's grace out of the land of Egypt, I am viſited with that word in Exodus (xii. 42), "It is a night to be much obſerved unto the Lord for bringing them out of Egypt. This is that night of the Lord to be obſerved of all the children of Iſrael in their generations." So this is the day (viz. April 20, 1653) to be much obſerved, the rather for that in the revolution of times the changes will run their round out, and then the Lord will come to reign.

But, my Lord, my heart is full. I am preſſed in ſpirit, and ſo are many others (after a ſolemn meeting of prayers with hundreds of this city at Thos. Apoſtles, London, about this change, and to ſeek God for you), to preſent you with theſe following propoſals :

I. That your Excellency do chooſe the men that muſt govern this Commonwealth (being that it is the judgment of many faithful diſcerning Miniſters that you are called thereunto by God). So *Moſes* did chooſe able men to be Rulers in Exodus (xviii. 25, 26). And they judged the people at all ſeaſons, but the hard caſes they brought to *Moſes*. And *Joſhua*, the next General (with 's officers), commanded the people. "The Lord ſaid to *Joſhua* (though in another caſe), take you twelve men out of the

1ſt Propoſal.

people, one of a tribe," &c. After this *Gideon*, the General of that little army of three bands that deſtroyed the huge hoſts of the Midianites, was offered by the Iſraelites the government (Judges viii. 22), for he had won it; and *Nehemiah* (chap. vii. 2) gave commiſſions out to men fearing God to govern, and ſo all the Governours that ever were victorious in the Word were either Rulers themſelves, or elſe choſen to be ſuch, or elſe choſe ſuch. Wherefore we ſay as *Ezra* (vii. 25), "And thou, after the wiſdom of thy God that is in thine hand, ſet magiſtrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all ſuch as know the laws of thy God, and teach ye them that know them not."

2 Propoſal. The ſecond propoſal, as to the number of perſons that ſhall govern, I humbly propoſe either a Synhedrin, Parliament, Council of Seventy, or elſe one of a county; for that in the Commonwealth of Iſrael (which is our beſt pattern) they had three ſorts of Courts—the Upper Court, or Synhedrin, which conſiſted of ſeventy. The ſecond ſort of Synhedrin was called the Lower Court, and conſiſted of twenty-three; and the third Court conſiſted but of three Judges in ſmall cities. But ſecondly, or elſe chooſe one of a county repreſenting that county, as one of a tribe did repreſent the tribe (Numbers i. 4), "And with you there ſhall be a man of a tribe." But if the preſent juncture of affairs requires a quicker deſpatch that in the interim twelve worthies may be choſen as preſent Governors (Joſhua iv. 1, 2; Numbers i. 4), like to Iſrael's twelve Judges.

3 Propoſal. The third propoſal, as to their qualifications. They muſt be men fearing God (Nehem. vii. 2; Exod. xviii. 21); lovers of truth and juſtice (Deut. xvi. 18); hating bribes and covetouſneſs (which corrupt juſtice), (Deut. xvi. 19; Exod. xviii. 21); not reſpecters of perſons (Deut i. 17, and xvi. 19); wiſe (though not politic), and underſtanding in the times and ſeaſons (Deut. i. 13). They

muſt govern as the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, but not as Lords over Chriſt, leſt the nobles be like Oreb and Zeb, and the princes as Zeba and Salmunna, that take the houſes of God (i. e. Chriſt's government and juriſdiction over churches and conſciences) into their poſſeſſion. Such are ſet as on a wheel upon the run till they have run themſelves all to pieces; and this was openly declared would be the ruin of this Parliament at Tho. Apoſtles, Feb. 18, unleſs God prevented: a day when we and the Navy were engaged all day long.*

The fourth propoſal is, that the righteous of the worthies of the late Parliament may be owned with honour. 4 Propoſal.

The fifth propoſal is, that the Rulers be ſet ſolemnly and publicly apart by prayer to God. 5 Propoſal.

Theſe five propoſals (Right Honourable) put in practice, with God's bleſſing, ſhall ſerve as five fingers for the work, and will ſhew that the hand of the Lord is with us, wherefore conſult with the Saints (Deut. i. 13), and ſend to all diſcerning ſpirited men for their propoſals.

And I beſeech your Excellency to accept theſe few from a faithful Commonwealth man, and one who deſires nothing of your Excellency for himſelf but to be one of the meaneſt of your ſervants for Chriſt and this Commonwealth,

JOHN ROGERS.

From my Study, Tho. Apoſtles,
25th day of ſecond month Zin, 1653.

Subſequent events ſhowed that theſe "five-fingered propoſals," as they were afterwards called, were not put forward without a pretty accurate foreknowledge of the Lord General's intentions. A few days after their publication *Cromwell* and the Council of Officers decided that the Council of State ſhould conſiſt of *Oliver Cromwell* himſelf and of eight officers and four civilians, amongſt

* "1653, Feb. 18. A terrible fight near the Iſle of Wight and Portland, and the Dutch beaten."—*Hiſtorian's Guide*, p. 36.

See Oliver Cromwell's Speech, Carlyle, ii. 217.

whom the worthies of the late Parliament were conſpicuouſly owned. *Rogers'* concluding recommendation of conſulting the Saints was then fully complied with; miniſters in various parts of the country, on whom the Council could rely, were directed to take the ſenſe of the Congregational or Independent Churches in their ſeveral counties, and to ſend up to the Lord General and his officers the names of perſons "able, loving truth, fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs," whom they judged "qualified to manage a truſt in the enſuing government." This being done, *Cromwell* choſe his own Parliament. He gave it the form of a county repreſentation, excluding all cities and boroughs except London; he impoſed no other qualification than that "of fearing God and of approved fidelity;" and within a week of their meeting his nominees in Parliament had ſet apart a day for ſeeking the direction of God, and had paſſed a reſolution to ſtir up the godly of the nation to the ſame effect. The only point, in fact, in which *Rogers'* programme was not accurately followed, was that of numbers. The Council of State conſiſted of 13 inſtead of 12, and the Parliament of 140 inſtead of 70. The Council met for the firſt time April 29, 1653. A preſident was choſen weekly: *Lambert* was the firſt, *Pickering* the ſecond, and *Harriſon* the third. Five weeks, however, elapſed between the nomination of the Council of State and that of the new Parliament, and in the mean time *Rogers* addreſſed to *Oliver Cromwell* a ſecond letter. It occurs as a dedicatory epiſtle to one of his controverſial works. The following extracts will give ſome notion of its ſtyle and contents:—

Forſter, ii. 139. Thurloe, i. 395. "Exact Relation," in Somers' Tracts, vi. 247, 266.

Bethſhemeſh, p. 1.

The Epiſtle
to the
Right Honourable his Excellency
the
Lord General Cromwel,
With an humble Requeſt of John Rogers, *Preacher of the Goſpel.*

My Lord,—

I was bold to preſent your Excellency, ſome five weeks ſince, with a handful of propoſals, fetched from the Commonwealth of Iſrael, for which it is well known to God

and man what uncharitable cenſures, rigid reprehenſions, ſcurrilous, keen-tongued, and cutting calumnies, my way lay in that (and ſo doth in this), through both from ſeeming friends and ſerious foes.

Thus far, my Lord, I am entered the liſts, and though in the midſt of theſe hot engagements, and without a partner too but Chriſt, yet have I and ſo do I lift up my voice aloud, which I hope ſomewhat moves your Excellency to ſay, Be of good cheer, for we will engage with you—i. e. for Chriſt in the quarrel againſt Antichriſt and the bloody Beaſt. Wherefore that my words and your works may be ſteeped all over in the unction with ſpread ſails for good ſucceſs, prayer comes with them and compoſes them thus:—

Firſt, that your Excellency's eyes may ſee the fall of Antichriſt and of mere national intereſts, the ſame as they roſe up.

Secondly, as to the Commonweale. That your Excellency (with the others of the Lords Worthies) go on in the name of the great Jehovah Elohim, in looking out for and then overlooking of the Governors of this Nation; and ſeeing running waters are always ſweeteſt, that there might be a yearly election (or ſo) of officers in greateſt truſt or power, leaſt they ſhould in time aſſume an abſoluteneſs to themſelves, and become oppreſſors. O deliver the Lord's people from proud, confronting *Pharaohs*, *Tobiahs*, and *Sanballats*, and ſuch abominable, malignant Committee-men as are in the countries; and from the intolerable oppreſſions (which ſqueeze out the very hearts of thouſands) both of the Norman iron yoke of corrupt lawyers, that live by ſin, and from the wills, humours, paſſions and luſts of men, eſpecially of ſuch as grow rich by our ruin, of which many godly men and women of ſeveral parts of this nation have bitterly complained, and with tears told me how the lawyers had undone them and then laughed at them. And alſo from

the oppreſſion of that Babylonian, brazen yoke of tithes; as alſo of pariſh church conſtitutions, ſoul-tyrannizing advowſons and preſentations, which make a mere ſale of ſouls and keep up a national, antichriſtian, corrupt intereſt in miniſters and people, as appears in the following treatiſe. And, indeed, as to maintenance, I do as heartily ſeek the Lord that miniſters might not have too much, as that they might not have too little. And to ſpeak for one, I do profeſs it from my heart that the greateſt temptations I ſhould fear falling into (if I know my own heart) would be great honour, eſteem, place, preferment, or means too much and unfit for me.

Thirdly and eſpecially. Every tongue is now tipt with talk of a treaty with the Hollanders and other nations. But if you make leagues, O let not Chriſt be forgotten! to covenant for your ſelves or national intereſts and forget his! O! a peace upon the account of Chriſt, to engage together againſt Antichriſt, Rome, prelates, enemies in all nations—to ſtand and fall, live and die together, in one cauſe, for the bare and very intereſt of Chriſt, would be a bleſſed peace indeed, without a penny from the purſe of them to boot. But without this it is not all their treaſures and eſtates that can make us a comfortable peace or league. For in Judges ii. 2, "Ye ſhall make no league with them, but throw down their altars," &c.

But now, Right Honourable, I muſt beſeech you—

1. To ſhun thoſe ſhelves, ſands, and rocks which your predeceſſors (viz. Kings, Lords, and the late Parliament), ran aground againſt and were broken all to pieces by; I mean in matters of religion; for believe it, however ſome ſay, that if men will uſurp Chriſt's power therein, they will find it a ſtone that will grind them to powder (Zach. xii. 3).

2. Countenance all you can (in your orbs, civil and military) the Congregational churches, as the gates and

palaces of Sion. For true zeal and devotion will take no pleaſure to dwell ſlovenly, like *Galba's* wit, under a deformed roof (as in mixed congregations or antichriſtian church-ways). But—

3. Leſt we loſe the ſubſtance for the ſhadow, there be, my Lord, a hidden number of ſaints (ſo called in Ps. lxxxiii. 3), that you muſt be a ſhield to, too, in your capacity. They are as yet ſcarce known in the world, as they will be ere long, when the elements are a little clearer.

For theſe ends and uſes the Lord our God, we truſt, hath anointed and appointed you; wherefore let theſe lines be accepted by your Excellency, and ſerve for refreſhment to you in your ſubſecive hours, and when you can, to take a turn or two in this treatiſe, among ſuch trees of righteouſneſs as are of the Lord's own planting (in his gardens), which will lead you with delight (if the Lord give but light) to James's* (the Apoſtle), yea, beyond, till you come to make Sion's Houſe for your Excellency's habitation. Some compare *Queen Elizabeth* to a ſluttiſh houſewife, who ſwept the houſe, but left the duſt behind the door. But now you, my Lord, have ſwept the whole houſe indeed, even whilſt they were ſaying, "We ſhall never be moved, but ſtand ſure as a mountain," Ps. xxx. 6, 7, as ſome Parliament men have ſince acknowledged it in diſcourſe with me. O, then, ſet not aſide the broom now, (for new brooms ſweep clean). Go on untill you caſt all the duſt and filth that lay behind the door (in the late Parliament) out, as fitteſt for the common ſewer. As faſt as may be to it, my Lord, and the Lord ſend you good ſpeed!

But the moſt wiſe God guide you! And that he may

* In Feb. 1650, the Houſe of Commons had reſolved "that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Oliver Cromwell) have the uſe of the lodgings called the Cock-pit, of the Spring Garden and St. James's Houſe, and the command of St. James's Park."—*Carlyle*, i. 507.

double the ſpirit of your predeceſſors upon you, viz. of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Gideon*, *Nehemiah*, and all others whom he hath anointed for the Government of his people, is and ſhall be the prayer of one who is willing to be anything till he be nothing, and would be nothing, though in a dungeon or on a dung-hill, ſo that his Lord and Maſter Chriſt may be all, who is in him,

Your Excellency's unfeignedly
Humble Servant,
JOHN ROGERS.

Thomas Apoſtles, Tamuz, the 4th month,
the 3rd day, 1653.

Cromwell's new Parliament, which has been already deſcribed, was ſummoned on the 8th of June, five days after the date of this dedicatory epiſtle, and met at Whitehall on the 4th of July. It conſtituted what was called by its friends "the Little Parliament," and by others the "Barebones Parliament," from *Praiſe-God Barbone*, a leather-ſeller in the City, one of the ſeven members for London. One hundred and thirty-eight members attended out of the one hundred and forty who were ſummoned; and by the inſtrument of Government handed to them by *Cromwell* and his officers, they were empowered to ſit until November 3, 1654. Three months before their diſſolution they were to make choice of other perſons to ſucceed them, who were not to ſit longer than a year, and were to provide for a further ſucceſſion in Government. At one of the earlieſt ſittings it was voted that the buſineſs of tithes ſhould without delay be taken into conſideration; and preſently afterwards a ſimilar reſolution was carried in regard to the law. Committees were appointed, and tithes and law reform became again the prominent queſtions of the day.

Whitelock, p 559.

CHAPTER III.

IN the courſe of this year *Rogers* publiſhed his two chief controverſial works on the great religious and political queſtions of the day. One of theſe books, from which I have already quoted largely, was called "Bethſhemeſh," and the other "Sagrir." The firſt was written againſt the Clergy (Preſbyterian), and the ſecond againſt the Lawyers. "Bethſhemeſh" was anſwered, in its own ſtyle and ſpirit, by *Zachary Crofton*, in "Bethſhemeſh Clouded." The following account of theſe books will throw light on the perſonal character and hiſtory of the controverſialiſts, as well as on their ſtyle of controverſy and their peculiar and antagoniſtic tenets. But the reader for whom ſuch diſputes have no attraction may omit the whole of this chapter and paſs on to the next, without any interruption to the thread of the narrative.

"Ohel or Bethſhemeſh, a tabernacle for the Sun, or Irenicum Evangelicum, an Idea of Church Diſcipline," was written before, and reviſed and publiſhed immediately after, the diſſolution of the Long Parliament. It profeſſed to prove that the Congregational form of church government adopted by the Independents was that which was moſt in accordance with Scripture, with primitive practice, and with reaſon. It contained, amongſt other things, moſt of the materials for a hiſtory of the author's life up to the period of its publication, a confeſſion of faith, and a full exhibition of his opinions and feelings on the points of immediate controverſy between his party and the reſt of the Chriſtian world, or at leaſt thoſe diviſions of it which he enumerates as containing his probable opponents. "Of this number," he ſays, "are Epiſcopalians, Preſbyterians, Papiſts, and Anabaptiſts (I mean the

moſt formal and furious of them,) and Ranters, yea, and the very formal and prelatic proud ſort of Independents too will join iſſue with the reſt as diſcontented perſons. The Preſbyterians," he adds, "I encounter moſt with, and the hotteſt conflict comes at laſt, in chap. 9, lib. 2, though every foot we fall a pickeering before, and now and then have pretty hot ſkirmiſhes."

Bethſhemeſh, Epiſtle to the Churches, p. 56.

The confeſſion of faith it may be worth while to tranſcribe in extenſo. It is as follows:—

P. 350.

"I acknowledge and profeſs from my very heart, before the Lord and you all here preſent, that I do believe there is but one God, who is omnipotent, omniſcient, omnipreſent, and an infinite and all-glorious Being, and diſtinguiſhed into three ſubſiſtences, or (if that word offend) I will ſay into three perſonal proprieties and relations, according to his ſeveral operations and adminiſtrations, namely, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. The Father is of himſelf, the Son proceedeth from the Father, and the Spirit from them both. And although the ſaints cannot take hold of God as God incomprehenſible and inapprehenſible, yet they know him as a Father, as a Son, as a Spirit dwelling in them, and ſo far as his ſeveral attributes makes him known to them.

1 Cor. viii. 5, 6; John viii. 17, 18, 19; 1 John v. 5-9; Matt xxviii. 19, 20.

Rom. i. 19, 20.

"Firſt, concerning the Firſt Perſon (ſo called) of the Trinity, or God the Father; that He is the Great Creator and Governour of all things in heaven and earth, eternally diſtinct (as in Himſelf) from all creatures (as creatures) in His abſolute Being and abſolute Well-being, and that this God ſhall judge the world.

1. The Father. Iſa. xl. 28 and xliii. 15; 1 Peter iv. 19; Rom. iii. 6; 2 Chron. xx. 6; Ps. lxvi. 7.

"But, ſecondly, concerning the ſecond in the Trinity, the Son, *Jeſus Chriſt*, of whom *Moſes*, the Prophets, and the Apoſtles wrote, and in whom all the Scriptures are and ſhall be fulfilled, I believe him, as he is both God and man, making a complete mediator; and as God, equal to the Father, as man, of the tribe of *Judah*, the line of *David*, the ſeed of *Abraham*, and born of *Mary*, &c. and as both the only mediator between God and man. And he was

2. The Son. Acts x. 42, 43; Iſa. xlv. 21, 22; 1 John v. 20; Iſa. ix. 6, 7; 1 Tim. ii. 5; 1 John iv. 2, 3; 2 John 7.

from everlaſting, (and yet) as man from the womb he was ſeparated, called, appointed, and anointed moſt fully with all gifts and graces neceſſary for all mankind.

"Concerning his offices—that he is King, Prieſt, and Prophet.

"Firſt, as the Prophet, he hath revealed his Father's whole will, ſo far as is neceſſary for ſalvation, in his word and ordinances, and ſpeaks it to his Church and ſaints by his word and Spirit.

"Secondly, as Prieſt, being conſecrated for us he hath appeared to put away ſin, and hath offered himſelf the ſacrifice for the ſins of the people, once for all, laying down his life for his ſheep; and he hath abſolutely aboliſhed all legal and ceremonial rites and ſhadows, and is now entered into the Holy of Holies, and ſits at the right hand of Glory making interceſſion for us.

"Thirdly, as King in general, all power is given him in heaven and earth; and he doth exerciſe his power over men and angels, good and bad, for the ſafety of his ſaints, and deſtruction of his enemies, till he hath made them all his footſtool.

"In particular, that Chriſt is King over his Church, and ſhall reign on earth ſpiritually in the hearts of his ſaints and by his word and Spirit. He gathers all his peoples together from idolatry, ſuperſtition, darkneſs, &c. into his own ſpiritual way of worſhip and holineſs, and brings them to the Father; and by his Spirit he makes them a peculiar people, a royal prieſthood, a holy generation, and inſtructs and governs them by his laws prepared for his Church and people.

"Thirdly, concerning the Spirit (the third of the Trinity), that he is ſent by the Father and the Son to make application of the whole work of Redemption to thoſe whom the Father hath given to the Son by His decree, and whom the Son hath brought to the Father by his blood, according

His Offices: (1). Prophet. Mic. v. 4; Mal. iii. 1; Deut. xviii. 15; Acts iii. 22, 23; Iſa. liv. 13.

(2). Prieſt. Heb. ix. 12, 14; x. 3, 10; Ephes. v. 2; 1 Pet. ii. 24; John x. 15; Colos. ii. 14, 15; Iſa. liii. 12; Heb. xii. 24.

(3). King. Firſt, in general. Matt. xxviii. 18; Ps. ii. 6; xlv. 6; Heb. i. 8; Iſa. ix. 6, 7; Rev. ii. 26, 27.

Secondly, in particular. Matt. ii. 2; Luke i. 33, 74, 75; xix. 27; Phil. ii. 9; Haggai ii. 7; Heb. xii. 27, 28; Iſa. xlv. 22; Mic. iv. 2, &c.

3. The Spirit. John xvi. 13, 14; Eph. i. 13, 14; iv. 30; Zach. ix. 11; Mal. iii. 1; Heb. x. 29;

xiii. 20; viii. 6, 8, 9; John xvi. 8, 9; Rom. viii. 2; iv. 8.

to the everlaſting covenant made between the Father and the Son, which the Spirit carries on to us as the covenant of free grace for our ſalvation. By the operation of this Holy Spirit in me this grace was begun firſt by and through the Law, which awakened me ſo as that I ſaw I was loſt and undone for ever, and then by the Goſpel, whereby Chriſt was revealed to me (and in me by his Spirit), and his righteouſneſs cleared up mine. (But of this hereafter).

John xv. 26.

"This Spirit applied Chriſt Jeſus (as far as I knew him) manifeſted to and in me, by which I was brought at length to cloſe with Chriſt, and that ſo unfeignedly that I reſolved to loſe all before Chriſt. So ſuch are—firſt, by Chriſt's righteouſneſs juſtified; ſecondly, by his Spirit adopted ſons; thirdly, by his grace ſanctified and really changed to the piety and purity of God's holy image (gradually); and fourthly, glorified and changed from miſery to happineſs, which begins in the inward ſenſe of God's ſoul-melting love to them in Chriſt, from whence is the hope of glory and aſſurance of ſalvation, joy, peace, and happineſs within, &c.

Rom. viii. 16; i. 4.

Gal. v. 22, 23; 1 John v. 7.

"Fifthly, concerning the Scriptures in Old and New Teſtament, they are the Word of God, as they were writ and indited by the Holy Spirit, and that they are the ſtanding rule left us both for our knowledge and practice, doctrine and diſcipline here below.

5. The Scriptures. Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20; John v. 39; 2 Cor. i. 13; Acts xxvi. 22; 2 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Pet. i. 20, 21; Gal. vi. 16.

"Sixthly, I believe that by the firſt *Adam's* diſobedience we all fell, and that we are all by nature the children of wrath, dead in ſins and treſpaſſes; and that thoſe who live and die in their ſins cannot be ſaved, nor any without regeneration or new birth.

6. Man. Ephes. ii. 1, 3; John iii. 3, 4; Acts xvii. 30, 31; Rom. viii. 13.

"Seventhly, concerning the Church of Chriſt, I know it is but one body Univerſal and Catholic, and that it is of all ſaints, paſt, preſent, and to come, inviſible and viſible, yea ſpiritual and formal. But this I alſo believe, that God hath left a rule in his Word for Particular Congregational

7. The Church. Ephes. iv. 4. Inviſible and Univerſal. 1 Cor. xii. 27, 28.

Churches here upon earth as the viſible, to make up his one entire and univerſal body.

"Eighthly. Now, concerning Chriſt's particular Churches I believe, as I have preached and proved, ſuch a church to be a fellowſhip called out of the world, and united to Chriſt as members to the head, and all one with another according to the word, for the worſhip of God and the edification one of another; and that ſuch muſt be ſeparate from falſe ways, worſhips, Antichriſtian ſuperſtitions, obſervances, &c. and willingly join in Chriſtian communion and covenant or reſolution of cleaving cloſe to the Lord in this his way with purpoſe of heart and by free confeſſion of their faith and ſubjection to the Goſpel; and therein I ſpecially believe that the ordinances of Chriſt are to be freely and frequently diſpenſed—as preaching, praying, prophecying one by one, ſinging of pſalms, hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs, ſacraments, cenſures, offices and officers, and often and ordinary exerciſing of gifts.

8. Churches viſible and Congregational. 1 Cor. xii. 20; Col. ii. 19; Eph. ii. 21, 22; Matt. xxviii. 20; Eph. iv. 29; 1 Thes. v. 11; John xv. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17, 19; Rev. xviii. 4; Pſ. cx. 3; Iſa. ii. 2, 4; 2 Cor. viii. 5; Acts xi. 23; Mal. iii. 16; Jude 20; Heb. x. 24, 25; Acts vi. 3; xiv. 23; Exod. xx. 24; 1 Kings ix. 3; Iſa. iv. 5, 6; xxv. 6, 7, 8; Pſ. cxxxii. 13, 14, 15; Rev. ii. 1; 2 Cor. vi. 3; Cant. iv. 16; vi. 2, 3; vii. 12; Iſa. xxxiii. 17, 20; Pſ. cxxii. 3.

"And although particular churches be diſtinct and independent bodies, even as cities compact, temples, houſes, &c. yet all churches muſt walk by the ſame rule, and have counſel and comfort and help from one another when need requires, as being all members of one body, of which Chriſt is the head.

"And, to conclude, I am fully perſuaded in my very ſoul that at the day of judgment, when the dead ſhall ariſe, that I ſhall ariſe alſo, and ſhall rejoice in Chriſt Jeſus my Saviour, and reign with him for ever, and ſing Hallelujah

John v. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 19; Acts xvii. 30, 31; 2 Tim. ii. 18; Heb. xii. 23.

for all eternity in the congregation of the firſt-born, where the ſpirits of juſt men are made perfect.

"And this is my faith, fetched from my very heart, and preſented in the hearing of a heart-ſearching God and all of you here preſent."

The controverſial part, that is to ſay, the bulk of the book, aroſe of courſe out of the circumſtances of the period. At this time the pariſhes and parochial churches of the country were, generally ſpeaking, in the hands of the Preſbyterians, whoſe ſyſtem of church government had been ſanctioned and to a certain extent eſtabliſhed by Parliament. According to this, England was to be divided into pariſhes and provinces, and church government was to be carried on by Preſbyteries and Aſſemblies, which were to be either parochial, claſſical, provincial, or national. Each pariſh was to have its parochial preſbytery for parochial purpoſes; a certain number of adjoining pariſhes were to combine to form a claſſis with a claſſical aſſembly; theſe claſſes were to be united into provinces with provincial aſſemblies, and the provincial aſſemblies to ſend repreſentatives to the national aſſembly. But, in ſpite of the letter of the law, the Preſbyterian ſcheme was nowhere completely carried out except in Lancaſhire and London.

The whole ſyſtem of Preſbyteries and Aſſemblies ſubordinate one to another was an abomination to the Independents, whoſe inſtinct it was to repudiate authority, whether in Church or State. With them each ſeparate congregation was a Church complete, ſelf-ſufficient, owing no obedience or allegiance to any authority whatever external to itſelf; in a word, every congregation was or ought to be, in fact as well as in name, an "Independent Church." If the Preſbyterian ſcheme of government was an abomination to them, the Parochial ſyſtem, on which it was baſed, was ſcarcely leſs ſo. The Independents laughed at or utterly ignored the excluſive claims of a parochial clergy; theſe claims they maintained were not only miſchievous and ridiculous, but eſſentially Antichriſtian, inaſmuch as they were founded on the Antichriſtian notion that the Church was a mixed multitude of believers and unbelievers—ſinners and ſaints indiſcriminately, whereas in their opinion the Church was a ſelect and excluſive ſociety of the ſaints.

"Bethſhemeſh" is divided into two books, "Chathan" and

Challah." In "Chathan" the author conſtructs an elaborate definition of the Church, maintaining that "Congregational," i. e. Independent Churches, are alone true Churches, and that "Parochial," i. e. Preſbyterian (or Prelatic) Churches, are falſe and Antichriſtian Churches.

The following is his definition of a true Church :—"The true Church of Chriſt is, 1. A ſociety of believers ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus; 2. Separate from the world's falſe ways and worſhips, united together into one body, Independent, or having a plenary power within itſelf, without the leaſt ſubordination to any but Chriſt; 3. Having the ſpecial preſence of God in the midſt of her; 4. And being ordered and gathered by Chriſt's rule alone; 5. All her members freely and voluntarily embodying without the leaſt compulſion, having communion with the Father and the Son; 6. All ſeeking the ſame end, viz. the honour and glory of God in His worſhip." Such are Independent Churches.

Bethſhemeſh, p. 137.

Each clauſe of his definition ſupplies him with a ſtage from which to aſſail the Preſbyterian churches and the Parochial ſyſtem—1. Parochial Churches are a mixed multitude of the world, including ſaints and ſinners, believers and unbelievers indiſcriminately; 2. Parochial Churches are neither ſeparate from ſinners without nor united amongſt themſelves within, they are ſubordinate to cathedrals and convocations, ſynods, claſſes, and aſſemblies; 3. Have not the beautiful and peculiar preſence of God; 4. Are ruled and ordered by ordinances and directories; and 5. Are kept alive by ſtocks, priſons, fines, pillories, and puniſhments; Finally, 6—they are full of profanity, excommunicate, and they rob God of His glory.

Having defined the Church in the firſt book, the author proceeds in the ſecond to deſcribe how in any particular locality a church may be gathered, embodied, and perpetuated. In the firſt place, perſons deſiring to enter into church ſociety muſt be quite ſure that they do ſo on good grounds, and that they act on their own free and unconſtrained will, without any compulſion whatever, ſocial, civil, or eccleſiaſtical. Having thus reſolved to unite, they give effect to their reſolution in a ſolemn, orderly manner, ſuitable to the occaſion. Great ſcandals have ariſen from neglecting this. "The godly," he ſays, "muſt needs be much offended at the practice of ſome that run prepoſterouſly into a way of fellowſhip on a ſudden, in an hour's warning or two, and in ſome place

Book ii. ch. i.

Book ii. ch. iii.

or other, too, that is unknown to any but themſelves. They write down their names together, chooſe officers, and all at once or ſo, in an hour or two's time, make up a body and call themſelves a church; and then all that will be joined muſt be joined to them that are thus jumbled together in a moſt undecent and undue order." As a means of checking ſuch diſorderly proceedings, the author offers the following order for church embodying which had been teſted by his own experience, leaving others to be guided by it or not, as they pleaſed:—

Firſt, then, in order to a communion of ſaints in a Goſpel church-ſtate, thoſe that are godly muſt meet often to ſpeak and pray together, and make mention of the Lord with ſavoury ſpeeches tending to edification.

After this, being affectionately deſirous to walk together in this way, and having agreed to it, they do write and give up their names to one whom they appoint to receive them.

In the mean time they moſt unanimouſly appoint a day of humiliation, or more, on which day they do lie low before the Lord and lick the duſt. (Neh. i. 11). This they do by themſelves, ſeparate from others.

On ſuch a day they appoint another day when they ſhall make a church body and unite, and if any be nigh, they ſend and ſeek for the aſſiſtance of ſome other church to bear teſtimony with them and give them the hand of fellowſhip and familiarity, not of lordſhip and authority.

On the day appointed, they judge it more to the honour of Jeſus Chriſt to appear in public (unleſs there be perſecution) in ſuch a place, where any that will may come to hear and carry away anything they can.

The day is begun and kept on for ſome hours with the prayers of the faithful. They pray not in a ſlight and formal manner, but with a holy violence, and "bounce hard," "even until the room or houſe is ready to ſhake again."

After this, there is ſome preparatory ſermon or ſpeech made by one that is able and appointed thereto, and it is fit that the book of Chriſt's Law be at that time read openly, unto which he that preaches and exhorts is principally appointed, in a pulpit of wood (Nehem. viii. 4), in the public place or elſewhere.

Then the rules that the church is gathered by, and the grounds on which it is embodied, are laid open.

Next is the confeſſion of faith begun by him who is appointed thereunto as the ableſt to lead. This brother beſides gives an account of the works of grace upon his heart, holding out at leaſt ſome of his experiences.

After this brother hath delivered himſelf at large, having the more liberty becauſe he leads as it were the others, then follow ſome other of the ableſt of the brethren (for herein care muſt be had in public leſt the weakneſs of a brother give advantage to them without) who lay down the grounds of their perſuaſion, and render a reaſon of the hope that is in them by Confeſſion of Faith, Experiences of the work of grace, and the like.

Then as many as are appointed for that day go on, one by one, and poſſibly for this day but few as eight or ten, or more or leſs, be appointed, becauſe the work is this day the moſt difficult and the moſt public.

Some will then have a formal covenant in writing; but this is not eſſential. After all this their names againſt whom no exception is taken are written down in a regiſter, and theſe by prayer together give themſelves up to God and to one another willingly.

To conclude this buſy day, they pour out prayer and praiſe in ſuch a meaſure that as it was ſaid of Iſrael in Ezra—when the foundation of the temple was laid they could not diſcern the noiſe of the ſhout of joy from the noiſe of weeping, both were ſo great, ſo here it may be ſaid the ſaints are ſo filled with praiſes and prayers that the noiſe of the one can hardly be diſcerned from the noiſe of the other.

As to other brethren and ſiſters that are to be admitted, they do make their confeſſion and declare the work of God on their hearts in private when they are enchurched among themſelves, ſeparate from the mixed multitude, ſo that the world may not take notice of their weakneſs in utterance or expreſſion, and upbraid them and the truth.

After a church has been thus embodied, it admits members from time to time, as need requires. On theſe occaſions the following order may be obſerved. The candidate muſt acquaint the church of his deſire, and his name is placed on the firſt record, and ſome elders or brothers are deputed to inquire concerning him and confer with him. If their report is ſatisfactory, a ſpecial day is appointed for his admiſſion; then if he be very unable to ſpeak in public in the church (as ſome maids and others that are

Book ii. ch. iv.

bashful) the church indulgently chooses out some to receive in private the account of his faith and experiences, which they take in writing and deliver in to the church. But in ordinary cases the candidate appears in person and delivers publicly by word of mouth a confession of faith and an account of the work of grace on his heart. Great liberty of opinion is to be allowed in the matter; believers of all judgments are to be received, and none are to be rejected for difference of opinion in matters indifferent. (As an example of a confession of faith, the author offers that which was delivered* by himself by word of mouth at Dublin in 1651.) But besides this confession, every person to be admitted must produce some experimental evidence of the work of grace upon his soul for the church to judge of whereby he or she is convinced he is regenerate and received of God. This may have been given either by extraordinary ways in dreams, visions, voices, and the like, to a poor soul under extraordinary sad temptations or *soul-miseries*, or else by the ordinary operation of the Spirit in the changing effects of grace upon the judgment, will, and affections. These experiences the Saints ought to declare in open congregation, because by them the Church is able to judge of such as are godly, and because they are a warning piece shot off in the ears of others, for "God teacheth by them as well as by precepts" (saith *Mr. Rogers* in the "Good Samaritan," p. 222).

Book ii. ch. v.

Book ii. ch. vi.

Mr. Nehemiah Rogers, my honoured Father, in his Parables.

As models and examples the author inserts at full length the experiences of forty persons, most of whom were members of his congregation at Dublin, and amongst whom are *Col. Hewson*, the regicide, Governor of Dublin, and his wife, with several ministers and officers of the army. He concludes with his own experiences as delivered in at Dublin, and these supply the account of his early life which has been already given.

Book ii. ch. iv.

To return to the candidate for church membership. After he has delivered in his confession of faith and account of experiences, he is questioned by those that have any doubts, for none can deny that liberty; but should he be weak and imperfect in utterance, the questions must be easy and discreet, for "we must take heed of grieving tender hearts in expecting too much from them," or of turning away for a form. Then he withdraws, and the question of his admission is debated. If approved, he is again called in, and

* See page 58.

received by the right hand of fellowſhip and a ſhort exhortation by the Paſtor or other perſon in the name of the whole church. The ceremony ends with prayer and praiſe.

In the courſe of enunciating his ſyſtem of church diſcipline, the author takes occaſion to ſtate and maintain his opinion on ſeveral other controverted queſtions, and eſpecially on thoſe three which had led to the diſruption and diſſolution of his Church at Dublin. Theſe were, the proper relation of the civil magiſtrate towards the Church (including the queſtion of liberty of conſcience), the validity of infant baptiſm, and the rights of women in Chriſtian churches. On theſe three points he claimed the glory of having been perſecuted for the truth's ſake.

As to liberty of conſcience, the Preſbyterians had conſiſtently maintained that thoſe who tolerated error were little better than thoſe who held or propagated it, and that both ought to be dealt with by the civil magiſtrate. In "A Teſtimony to the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt, and to our Solemn League and Covenant, as alſo againſt the Errors, Hereſies, and Blaſphemies of theſe times, and the toleration of them," ſubſcribed by the [Preſbyterian] miniſters of Chriſt in London, and publiſhed in 1648, there is claſſed among the errors which they "utterly loathe, execrate, and abhor," "the error of toleration, patronizing, and promoting all other errors and blaſphemies whatſoever under the groſſly abuſed notion of liberty of conſcience," and they mention particularly the error "that little can be done unleſs liberty of conſcience be allowed for every man and ſort of men to worſhip God in that way and perform Chriſt's ordinances in that manner as ſhall appear to them moſt agreeable to God's word, and no man puniſhed or diſcountenanced by authority for the ſame." The Preſbyterian miniſters pray that "ſome effectual means" may be found "by authority of Parliament for the utter abolition and extirpation of" theſe errors "out of the Church." *Rogers* joins iſſue with them, and maintains at ſome length that magiſtrates have nothing whatever to do with ſchiſmatics, heretics, blaſphemers, and the like, as ſuch, unleſs they commit ſome action worthy of puniſhment; that God alone is the Lord and Judge of conſciences, and that until magiſtrates keep their own proper ſphere, and meddle only with civil matters, miniſters meddling only with ſpiritual, "we ſhall be far from a good reformation, and muſt look only for a lamentable check." Book i. ch. xiii.

As he had been perſecuted by the Preſbyterians on one ſide

for his advocacy of religious liberty, ſo he was perſecuted by the Anabaptiſts on the other for his advocacy of infant baptiſm.

Book ii. ch. iv. In ſupport of his own practice of not requiring thoſe who had been baptized as infants to be re-baptized as adults, he proves in "Bethſhemeſh,"—1. That the Apoſtles only baptized thoſe who had never been baptized before; 2. That the baptiſm of infants, as generally adminiſtered, even if we admit it to have been corruptly adminiſtered, is notwithſtanding true Baptiſm in the eſſential points of matter and form, and therefore is not to be repeated; 3. That although immerſion may perhaps be preferable, inaſmuch as it is more ſignificant, yet aſperſion is ſufficient; 4. That even if we have been baptized by a corrupt adminiſtrator, ſtill "his corrupt hand doth not invalidate the ordinance." And finally, he declares, 5. That when we find the fruit and effect of baptiſm to follow the ordinance on thoſe who have been baptized as infants, we are ſatisfied "this covers all failings, and the outward is ſwallowed up in the inward."

Book ii. ch. viii. The third queſtion, to which he devotes a whole chapter in "Bethſhemeſh," is the queſtion of the rights of women in a Chriſtian Church, and "this was one thing which helped to ſet at a diſtance the two ſocieties at Dublin." "The furies and harpies are flown up very high upon this point, and moſt men do arrogate a ſovereignty to themſelves which I ſee no warrant for." He, on the other hand, alleges prophecy, precept, and reaſon to ſhow that ſiſters ought to have equal liberty with the brethren in ſpeaking and voting, aſking and anſwering, conſenting and objecting, in the congregation of the Church. For prophecy he appeals to *Joel*, *Iſaiah*, and *Jeremiah*. For precept he quotes "Go, tell it to the Church." Papiſts ſay this means, tell it to the Pope and his Cardinals; others ſay, tell it to the Prelates; Calviniſts ſay, tell it to the Synod; ſome Independents ſay, tell it to the brethren. We ſay, tell it to the whole body, which conſiſts of women as well as men. Women, he ſays, bare office in the Primitive Church; women were choſen to look after the poor; women laboured with *St. Paul* in the Goſpel; *Phœbe* was a deaconeſs, and *Philip's* four daughters were propheteſſes.

Again, women have frequently ſurpaſſed men for piety and judgment. Prudent *Abigail* excelled her huſband; for knowledge *Priſcilla* excelled *Apollos*, though a preacher; for faith, the Canaanite, of whom Chriſt ſaid, "I have not ſeen ſo great faith, no,

not in Iſrael." For affection and zeal, "the Queen of the South ſhall riſe up againſt the men of this generation." *Mary Magdalen* for piety and ſpirit outran and outreached the twelve diſciples. So we read how *Jael* excelled in courage, *Deborah* in thankfulneſs, *Lois* and *Eunice* in faith and obedience, *Lydia* in entertaining the word. The Shunamite in faith, and zeal, and underſtanding excelled her huſband. So the Samaritaneſs the reſt of the citizens. We read of women exhorted to win their huſbands to the truth. Yea, and in *Manoah's* wife you ſhall find a ſounder faith and judgment than in her huſband. "I remember I have read in *Jerome's* days of many holy women that exceeded others in learning and abilities, and in the ſtudying of the Scriptures, and they had their commentaries upon them of their own making."

A further reaſon is taken from their ſtrong affection to the truth, when once they be in the way of Chriſt. Hence it is that Satan ſo often makes the firſt trial of women for his turn and ſervice, ſeeing where they take their affections are ſtrongeſt; and he ſped ſo well at firſt that he can't forget it. So he found out a *Dalilah* for *Sampſon*, a *Jezebel* for *Ahab*, *Pharaoh's* daughter for *Solomon*, &c. For where they are bad they are exceeding bad, but where they are good they are exceeding good; for, as the gold ſooner receives the form than iron or ſteel, ſo are women more readily wrought upon and perſuaded into the truth than men; and as gold, ſo women many times take the faireſt ſtamp and fulleſt impreſſion.

"Yet before I conclude I muſt ſpeak a word or two both to men and women. Let not men deſpiſe them, or wrong them of their liberty of voting and ſpeaking in common affairs. To women I ſay, I wiſh ye be not too forward, and yet not too backward, but hold faſt your liberty; keep your ground which Chriſt hath got and won for you, maintain your rights, defend your liberties even to the life; loſe it not, but be courageous and keep it. And yet be cautious too, *feſtina lentè*—not too faſt; but firſt be ſwift to hear, ſlow to ſpeak: your ſilence may ſometimes be the beſt advocate of your orderly liberty, and the ſweeteſt evidence of your prudence and modeſty. And yet ye ought not by your ſilence to betray your liberty, trouble your conſciences, loſe your privileges and rights, or ſee the truth taken away or ſuffer before your eyes. But, I ſay, be not too haſty nor

too high; for as the note that comes too nigh the margin is in danger to run into the text the next impreſſion, ſo ſpirits that run too high at firſt may ſoon fall into diſorder and irregularity.

In a word, I ſay to all, 'Thoſe whom God hath joined together let no man put aſunder.'"

Book ii. ch. ix.

Rogers, as he ſays, had "ſome pretty hot ſkirmiſhes" with the Preſbyterians incidentally in the earlier part of his book; but he reſerves his direct and ſyſtematic aſſault upon them for the laſt and longeſt chapter, in which, hardly acknowledging their right to be ranked among Chriſtian churches, "properly ſo called," he exhibits, by way of reductio ad abſurdum, a long catalogue of the points in which they agree with the Papiſts. The compariſon is intereſting, as ſhowing in ſome detail how far the Preſbyterians of the day had diverged from the Epiſcopalians, and had been themſelves left behind by the Independents.

Papiſts and Preſbyterians agree with each other, and of courſe differ from the Independents, in diſcipline, doctrine, and practice.

They agree in diſcipline. 1. In dividing the Church into principal and leſs principal—firſt the Pope and his Cardinals, or the Aſſembly and claſſes, and ſecondly the people; 2. In ſaying that the Catholic Church always has been viſible; 3. In aſſerting a twofold headſhip to the Church—firſt Chriſt, and then the Pope or the Aſſembly; 4. In ſaying all belong to the Church who make profeſſion of Chriſt, whether Saints or not; 5. In calling all who ſeparate from them ſchiſmatics, heretics, or ſeparatiſts, they themſelves being neither ſeparate out of Babylon or gathered and at unity in Sion; 6. In laying the foundations of their Church not on Chriſt but on *St. Peter*, or on confeſſions of faith; 7. In perſecuting all who differ from them; 8. In giving the power of the keys not to the congregation, but either to their prelates or to their claſſes; 9. In various points connected with ſynods and aſſemblies, as to their neceſſity, power, or the like.

They agree in doctrine.

1. The Papiſts keep off the people from reading the Scriptures, find fault continually with the vulgar tranſlation, affirm Scripture to be moſt hard, difficult, and obſcure, and that it requires to be expounded by Fathers, Councils, &c. and make tradition neceſſary over and above. And ſo not only Prelates, of late, but the Preſbyterians are too rigid to keep off the poor people from the Scrip-

tures, fearing they would excel their teachers, and take their pulpits from them. To ſee ſuch in their pulpits as have not had hands upon them, O, how they ſcreech for fear! (See this in that frothy, nameleſs pamphlet of a lying libeller and ſcandalous Philocompos, that is much cried up by that party for his voluble tongue. It is entitled, "A Taſte of the Doctrine of the newly-erected Exerciſe at Thomas Apoſtle's.") Like the Papiſts, they fright the people from the Scriptures by telling them they want the original; others declare their Claſſes, Synods, &c. muſt determine the ſenſe of the Scriptures, and add their authority thereto, or Fathers, Commentators, and ſuch as are accounted orthodox: about which I have been in the liſts with many. We diſſent from both, and aſſert that the vulgar tranſlation of the Scripture is ſufficient in matters of faith for knowledge; that the Scriptures are to be believed, not becauſe Synods or Councils tell us they are true, but becauſe the Spirit tells us ſo; that we ſhould ſin againſt our conſciences if we ſat down content with the expoſition of others, inſtead of ſeeking further and fuller; that the Scriptures are neceſſary to be known, and that it is not enough to hear the miniſter preach; that all things neceſſary to ſalvation to be found in Scriptures; and laſtly, that the Scriptures are not ſo dark and undiſcoverable as they would urge upon the people. 2. They agree about Baptiſm, impoſing it as neceſſary to ſalvation, maintaining that infants ought to be brought to Baptiſm becauſe they have the habit if not the act of faith, and becauſe of the faith of their parents, and adopting the Jeſuitical doctrine that Baptiſm wipes away ſins going before. All this the Independents deny, affirming that the children of the faithful that are holy are holy before Baptiſm. 3. They agree as to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, in bidding men prepare themſelves for it, and faſt the day before they receive it (while we Independents ſay the preparations of the heart are of the Lord, and account faſting before the Lord's Supper to be mere foppery), in diſpenſing indiſcriminately to all, in bidding the people fall down before it, or keep devoutly on their knees, or ſit or kneel or ſtand at a diſtance from it. Some of them, too, affirm that all have had Chriſt who have had the ſacrament; and ſome of them cut the bread inſtead of breaking it, which deſtroys the nature of the ordinance. 4. They agree, too, about the doctrine of works, affirming the neceſſity of works to ſalvation, crying up an inherent righteouſneſs in man;

and they agree in preſſing works and duties for fear of hell and for hope of heaven, roaring out with fire and lightning about the ears of the people to fright and ſcare them, and there to leave them. "They can ſay little elſe but hell and damnation to ſuch as are afflicted, inſtead of uſing every means to bind up the broken, and pour in wine and oil into their wounds." 5. They agree too much about the merit of works. 6. Laſtly, they agree in giving the civil magiſtrates too much power over the Church.

They agree in practice.

Firſt, as to Ordination. (1). Papiſts make impoſition of hands eſſential; ſo do Preſbyterians. We affirm it to be a mere ceremony. (2). Papiſts ſay ordination is to be diſpenſed by the Biſhops; the Preſbyterians ſay by the Preſbytery or claſſes; we ſay by the congregation. (3). Papiſts and Preſbyterians ſay firſt ordain a man, and then let him be called and choſen; we ſay they put the cart before the horſe. The Church muſt firſt chooſe him, after trial and examination, and then ordain him. "And I affirm that, as ordination Popiſhly diſpenſed does not give the eſſentials to the outward call of a miniſter, ſo the Preſbyterian ordination, which I now diſown before God and men, as being in the ſteps of Popery and ſucceſſively from it, (though I was once, through dimſightedneſs, under it, in the very firſt claſſis that e'er was in England, if I miſtake not), yet I ſay it is antichriſtian and diſorderly, as preceding the election of the people of God, and not giving the eſſentials to the call of a true miniſter of Chriſt."

Next, as to diſtinctions and differences.

1. The Preſbyterians, like the Papiſts, keep up a diſtinction between themſelves as miniſters and other people, and they would have no other dare to touch their ſacred function or to enter their pulpits on pain of anathema. We deny the diſtinction between clergy and laity as Popiſh; there is no difference between miniſters and the people, except it be to exceed them in knowledge and holy life. 2. Papiſts make a diſtinction of their Prieſts by garbs, gowns, caps, garments; ſo did the Prelates, and ſo do the Preſbyterians, which we think a ſuperſtitious foppery. 3. Papiſts give ſome of their clergy principality or power over others of them; ſo do the Preſbyterians in their claſſes, but we affirm no ſuperiority among paſtors any more than among churches. 4. Papiſts

and Preſbyterians are too alike about tithes; they both ſay the payment of tithes is of abſolute duty. We affirm three things—(1). That the Parliament, or any other ſupreme power, may throw down tithes; (2). That a competent maintenance and comfortable allowance to all able Goſpel miniſters who live ſoberly is of divine inſtitution; but, (3). That this ought to be in as voluntary a way as may be, ſo that the people ought to be free in the manner of payment. 5. Papiſts and Preſbyterians are too much alike in their names of days, months, and ſeaſons. Such names as "Sunday" and "Monday," "January" and "February," "Chriſtmas, Michaelmas, Candlemas," &c. muſt be reformed, as ſprung from Popery or Paganiſm. 6. Their practice is too like the Papiſts about their public meeting-places, which they call "churches." (1). The Preſbyterians at this day hold what they can neither prove nor dare openly own—that there is a ſpeciality in their churches, as if they were holier than other places; from whom we diſſent, and affirm their churches to be no better than ſtreets or barns in themſelves, and ſo ſay all Proteſtants againſt Papiſts. (2). The Papiſts dedicated their churches to ſaints, and though the Preſbyterians cannot for ſhame own theſe Popiſh decrees, yet what do they leſs than approve of their churches being ſo dedicated when they call them by their names as ſainted—*St. Mary*, *St. John*, *St. James*, *St. Thomas Apoſtle*. "Therefore it would do well that our State would declare againſt thoſe churches as no churches, that they might never be eyed or owned more than any other places, further than for conveniency's ſake, ſo that as hot, violent miniſters might not approve, ſo not appropriate them as they do. For, indeed, ſome proud, ſelf-conceited, hot-ſpirited Preſbyterians I know (that account theſe churches their own inheritance) will keep or ſolely command the keys, and ſuffer none to preach but themſelves, or of their own feather, gang, and fancy with them, and on the week days keep the door ſo cloſe that a mouſe may hardly get in, for fear of too much preaching, which they account dangerous, unleſs on their rounds on Sunday. So that they threaten to arreſt ſuch as dare preach in their pulpits or churches (as they ſay) without their conſent. O ſad! ſuch doings we have in the countries yet; and are forced to preach under hedges or on mountains (which I have done myſelf, when we have not had a twig to ſhelter us from the rain). But woe be to them, for they have taken away the key of knowledge, and have not entered in

themſelves, and them that were entering in they have hindered. But if theſe places muſt be dedicated to Saints, let them be dedicated to the uſe of ſaints living, and for the churches that are ſo indeed to meet in."

"Laſtly, Papiſts and Preſbyterians are too alike in their accurate ſcrutiny which they have of us, to obſerve what differences they can find among us, to make their advantage and outcry againſt us. This is an old Popiſh trick. We muſt acknowledge too many differences amongſt us, and that about forms too. But there may be unity where there is not uniformity. And though we have too, too many diviſions and differences amongſt us, God knows, which is our daily grief, yet they are not ſo many or ſo dangerous as the bitter brethren would have all believe by looking into their magnifying-glaſſes. But thoſe few that are, are not about points of faith, but for the moſt part forms, which are by ſome too hotly and haſtily preſſed and purſued."

The author concludes with an earneſt exhortation to unity, which will be the reſult, he thinks, of three things now coming on the churches,—a ſhort but ſharp time of trial, a large pouring out of the ſpirit, and the near approach of the great and notable day of the Lord. Finally, he aſſerts and endeavours to prove that the Goſpel order of the Congregational Church way, or, in other words, the Independent form of church government, is one of the great promiſes of theſe latter days, in which Chriſt alone ſhall reign and an earthly paradiſe be reſtored.

"τὸ θέλειν, τὸ τέλειν."

In "Bethſhemeſh," the greater part of which may be aſſigned to the laſt days of the Long Parliament,* the author exhibits himſelf as an advanced Independent; alluſions to the Characteriſtic Fifth-Monarchy doctrines are comparatively few and faint. But in his next book, "Sagrir," which was publiſhed while the Bare-
Oct. 20, 1653. bones Parliament was in full vigour, he not only makes his uſual onſlaught on clergy, tithes, and lawyers, but he declares alſo, or developes, thoſe views on foreign policy and a military millennium which were the characteriſtics of the Fifth-Monarchy-Man. The

* Moſt of the dedicatory Epiſtles are dated March and April, 1653. The book itſelf had been written in Dublin in 1651-2.

foreign policy advocated by the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and enunciated in "Sagrir," was eminently warlike and aggreſſive, and at the ſame time eminently calculated to advance the intereſts of *Cromwell*. *Macaulay* ſays truly, "There was nothing which *Cromwell* had for his own ſake and that of his family ſo much reaſon to deſire as a general religious war in Europe. In ſuch a war he muſt have been the Captain of the Proteſtant armies. The heart of England would have been with him. His victories would have been hailed with an unanimous enthuſiaſm unknown in the country ſince the rout of the Armada, and would have effaced the ſtain which one act condemned by the general voice of the nation has left on his ſplendid fame."

Macaulay, Hiſt. of Engl. i. 144 (Ed. 1858).

It was for ſome ſuch war as this that the Fifth-Monarchy-Men thirſted; a war for the defence and extenſion of the Proteſtant faith over the whole world. To what extent *Cromwell* prompted them it is impoſſible to ſay, but it is worth remarking that he actually made England "the moſt formidable power in the world" by aſſerting within rational limits thoſe very principles which they were then proclaiming with ſuch exaggeration and extravagance, and that he inſiſted on almoſt incredible demands from other nations on the plea that "his people would not be otherwiſe ſatiſfied." In fact, *Cromwell* availed himſelf of the clamours of the fanatics againſt foreign nations juſt as he had availed himſelf of their clamours againſt the Long Parliament, the clergy, and the lawyers, to ſtimulate his friends, to intimidate his enemies, and to prepare the way for a policy which was, after all, entirely his own.

Macaulay, i. 143.

Clarendon, vii. 300.

"Sagrir," which appears to have been written in the autumn of 1653, is a volume of nearly 200 pages, and contains an Epiſtle to *Cromwell*, an Epiſtle to the Reader, a violent denunciation of exiſting laws and lawyers, and lengthy digreſſions on tithes, foreign policy, and the Fifth Monarchy. Its tone and temper are very fairly repreſented in its title-page, in which, however, the date ſeems to be wrongly printed: it was certainly publiſhed in 1653.

סגרי׳ר *Sagrir,*

OR

Doomes-day drawing *nigh,*

With Thunder and Lightening to LAWYERS,

In an *Alarum*

For *New Laws*, and the *Peoples Liberties* from the *Norman* and *Babylonian Yokes.*

Making Diſcoverie

Of the *preſent* ungodly *Laws* and *Lawyers* of the *Fourth Monarchy*, and of the approach of the *FIFTH*; with thoſe godly *Laws*, Officers and *Ordinances* that belong to the *Legiſlative Power* of the Lord *Jeſus.*

SHEWING

The *Glorious Work* Incumbent to *Civil Diſcipline* (once more) ſet before the *Parliament*, Lord *Generall*, *Army* and *People* of *England*, in their diſtinct *capacities* upon the *Account* of *Chriſt* and his Monarchy.

Humbly preſented *to them by* JOHN ROGERS, *an unfained* Servant of Chriſt, *and this* Common-wealth *in their beſt* Rights, Laws *and* Liberties, *loſt many years.*

Bread of Deceit is ſweet to a man, but afterwards his mouth ſhall be filled with Gravell. *Prov.* 20, 17.

Whoſo ſtoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he ſhall cry himſelf, but ſhal not be heard. *Prov.* 21, 13.

They are Braſſe and Iron, they are all Corrupters, the Bellows are burnt the Lead is conſumed of the fire, the Founder melteth in vain, for the Wicked are not plucked away. *Ier.* 6. 28, 29.

נִשְׁמְטוּ בִידֵי־סֶלַע שֹׁפְטֵיהֶם וְשָׁמְעוּ אֲמָרַי כִּי נָעֲמוּ׃ when

their Judges (or the greateſt Lawyers) are thrown down into ſtony places, they ſhall hear my Words, becauſe then they are ſweet. *Pſal.* 141, 6.

Cauſidicis, *Erebo*, Fiſco, *fas vivere rapto;*
Militibus, Medico, *Tortori, occidere ludo;*
Mentiri Aſtrologis, *Pictoribus, atque Poetis.*

LONDON,

Printed by *R. I.* to be ſold by *Giles Calvert* at the *Black Spread Eagle*, at the *Weſt end of Pauls* 1654.

"*To the Right Honourable the* Lord General Cromwell, *the people's Victorious Champion in England, Ireland, and Scotland.*

My Lord,

His Excellency the Lord Jeſus hath ſent out his ſummons to other nations alſo; and the blade of that ſword whoſe handle is held in England will reach to the very gates of Rome ere long, but by what inſtruments we know not; yet for what end we know, (Ps. lxxii. 2, 4, 13) viz. to break in pieces the oppreſſor and to deliver the poor and needy. Now, my Lord, hitherto he hath honoured you in his war. Let him alſo do ſo in his work, which the war hath made way for, viz. in throwing down of tyranny and oppreſſion, which as you have begun to do, ſo this treatiſe hath unavoidable reference to yourſelf to carry on, as our conqueror upon Chriſt's and the Commonwealth's account, and not upon your own. Therefore are the eyes of thouſands upon you, to ſee what you will do for their ſafety and freedom, according to the juſt rights and liberties of the people of this nation, which they had before the Norman tyranny and conqueſt; for it is far better for us, my Lord, now to hang us than not to help us againſt theſe unſufferable laws and lawyers, which rob us of juſtice and righteouſneſs, as it is obvious in this treatiſe. It is without malice to a man of them, and merely out of conſcience to engage againſt ſin and enemies to Chriſt and this Commonwealth that I muſt make ſuch a character of them as I do. It may be I ſpeak ſpiritfully yet not ſpitefully; though oppreſſion makes a wiſe man mad, ſays *Solomon* (Eccl. vii. 7). And indeed, if it be madneſs to engage againſt ſin, I will be ſo: for—

'Si natura negat facit indignatio verſum.'

Wherefore, my Lord, I beſeech you contemn not the

There is a prediction, which ſays C. ſhall ſound within the walls of Rome.

clock that tells you how the time paſſes. A mean herald may go on great errands; and on this errand he is contented to be mean and contemptible who is ſent to you, and prays unfeignedly for you that you may never be ſet aſide, but be of ſingular uſe yet in this generation; and then, and not till then, reſt from your labours as *David* did (Acts xiii. 36).

The ſword of the Lord and of *Gideon** together gets the loud ſuffrage of your ſuffering yet

your heartily humble
ſervant in the ſervice
of our Lord Jeſus,
JOHN ROGERS.

From my Study, the 8th month, 20th day.
Thomas Apoſtle's."

Some of theſe ſufferings are connected with his unceaſing proteſts againſt the iniquity of tithes. He gives the following account of them in his Epiſtle to the Reader:—

"I confeſs I was occaſionally the fourteenth day of the ſeventh month at the Committee of Tithes,† in the Chequer

* *Gideon* was a favourite example, and "the ſword of the Lord and of *Gideon*" a favourite watchword with ſuch men as *Rogers*; for *Gideon* with his handful of men firſt routed whole hoſts of his enemies, and then cut off the heads of their kings ("Bethſhemeſh," p. 171). On the other hand, to ſuch men as his father, *Nehemiah*, "the ſword of the Lord and of *Gideon*" was ſignificant only of religious intolerance, cruelty, and rebellion. "Theological hatreds as one termeth them are moſt bitter hatreds. He that ſtrikes for religion ſtrikes with a razor; the other thruſts with a foil. When a battle is fought 'by the ſword of the Lord and of *Gideon*,' then it ever proceeds with the greateſt cruelty; and rebellion never proves ſo loud and dangerous as when religion is pretended."—*The Figleſs Fig-tree*, p. 280.

† The Committee of Tithes appointed by the Barebones Parliament conſiſted of thirty-two members. The firſt, third, and fifth names on the liſt were thoſe of *Major-General Harriſon*, *Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and

Chamber, where was a rude rabble, and amongſt them many lawyers and miniſters of the city and country too, to tug for tithes; and finding liberty given to any to ſpeak, I being deſired ſo to do by ſome Parliament men, I accepted of the call, for that I could not in conſcience be ſilent, ſeeing I had ſuch a ſeaſon to make my blow at Antichriſt and to ſpeak for Chriſt; but finding that the liberty was limited to what could be ſaid as to or againſt their propriety by the law, I only laid a foundation for a future diſcourſe, which I took up on the 16th day. And becauſe *Maſter Jacob*, being of a like conſtitution and complexion in principles with the prieſts, with the aſſiſtance of one of his brethren, that foul-mouthed ſcandalous fellow of Garlick-hithe, cenſoriouſly and raſhly condemned me as full of impertinences therein, although they were well rebuked for their rough, proud ſpirits, and the Committee took *Mr. Jacob* up ſharply for his folly, impertinency, and impatience (for he wanted his note-book); yet, to ſatisfy ſome of the precious ſervants of God, I ſhall here inſert what I ſaid.

The Author's ſpeech at the Committee, Sept. 16.

Queſ. Whether the preſent clergy have right by the laws of this land to tithes? Before my anſwer I premiſed that, without fee, preferment, or bye-end, I ſhould offer my judgment, being brought hereto by a good conſcience, as perſuaded that I appeared for Chriſt againſt Antichriſt, ſo that I would not be daunted by the threats of any given out againſt me. Then I digeſted my diſcourſe into four heads:—

The preſent Miniſters no right to Tithes by the law proved.

Anſ. Neg. 1 (*ab origine*). — From the riſe of thoſe common laws that they plead to give them this right, i. e.

Anſ. 1. Becauſe common laws which give the right are down.

Praiſe-God Barbone. The Committee was ordered to ſit in the Chequer Chamber. "This Committee hath power to puniſh ſcandalous miniſters, and to prefer godly miniſters in their place."—*From "A New Liſt of all the Members of this preſent Parliament.* 1655."

canon, or Chriſtian law ſo called. If the canon or eccleſiaſtical law is down, and gives them no right, then the common laws, which aroſe therefrom, are down and fallen with them. But the canon law is down, &c: ergo, the conſequence is clear. . . . .

Anſ. 2. Becauſe there the laws look on men ordained in another way.

Anſ. 2 (*ex objecto*). The laws which they plead and pretend for propriety look on ſuch only as were ordained according to the Popiſh canons then in force when thoſe laws were made; but the preſent clergy diſown thoſe canons and ordination—ergo, the laws that refer thereto. . . .

Anſ. 3. The end of the law is loſt by thoſe laws which grant tithes.

Anſ. 3 (*a fine*). From the end of all honeſt laws, which muſt be preferred before the letter of the laws, viz. the public good and freedom of the people. . . . .

Anſ. 4. The foundation of ſuch is ſand, and unſound.

Anſ. 4. From the foundation of the laws, which ought to be the eternal law of God. . . . .

Thus their propriety to tithes is proved rotten and invalid by their own laws, as to the principle, object, end, and foundation of them; and if God do not honour our preſent governours with ſuch a ſtripping of the ornaments and pulling away the black patches of the impudent harlot as this does, I fear they will hardly be the men then that muſt tear her fleſh from her bones and burn it with fire. . . .

To the Parliament.

This is the ſubſtance of what I delivered by word of mouth, (which I had a copy of in writing, whence I have taken this), and afterward in writing by an honourable member of Parliament. But that the ſpirit of Antichriſt might appear for itſelf, there was ſuch uncivil talking, hiſſing, mocking, threatenings, railings, and crowding me, whiles I was ſpeaking to the Committee, to interrupt me, that the Chairman, with many members, were forced to check them, and to riſe up to chide ſeveral times. After we were withdrawing by order from the Committee, *Mr. Jacob* exclaims againſt me. With that I turned back, and heard him ſay I offered many impertinencies, and he was glad the truth had ſo many weak enemies as I was. Let

him and all my enemies know that I truſt I ſhall be a very weak enemy to truth as long as I live; I deſire to be ſo, and rather to die than be any enemy at all to truth. But yet tell him that Antichriſt, againſt whom I engaged in this buſineſs of tithes, which the blood of the martyrs will witneſs with me (Fox, p. 494, ii., 80, and 537, &c.) I ſay, tell him that Antichriſt ſhall find ſtronger, and abler, and faithfuller, and more undaunted, reſolute enemies than I am to this traſh, and trumpery, and relic of Antichriſt; and it is my joy to be one, though a weak one, that engages for Chriſt herein, though I was grieved to be alone among ſo many adverſaries of the clergy, lawyers, and rude rabble at that time. But my anſwer to *Mr. Jacob's* affront was this—that he ſpoke like himſelf (meaning a Preſbyterian, and one that would have been *Mr. Love's* ſucceſſor); and that as Auguſtine once ſaid he was content to ſpeak falſe Latin, ſo he might but win their ſouls to Chriſt, ſo I ſaid I was welcome to ſpeak fooliſhly and impertinently, ſo I might but ſerve my maſter Chriſt therein, as I truſt I had; which ſince, among many others, ſome Parliament men and honeſt miniſters, too, and members of the army, have with thanks told me was well. But after he was reproved by the Committee, we withdrew, where a huge conflux of rigid clergy, ſolicitors, and rabble fell a railing and aſſaulting me (among whom was *Crofton*, the preacher of Garlick-hithe, threatening and abuſing me); but I was through mercy reſcued by ſome friends and members of the army, and carried away to a friend's houſe to refreſh my ſpirits, which were much ſpent with their violencies. But I did not feel the hurt which I had by their crowdings, punches, and pulling about, and getting me (as they had once that day) under their feet till I cried for help; I felt it not till the next day; and then, what with inward bruiſes and outward ſoreneſs and ſickneſs, I fell into a fierce fever, when, amongſt others, *Colonel Rathbone* came to viſit me, and told me how

the rabble the day before fell upon him alſo, upon the ſame account of engaging againſt that garbage of Antichriſt; and for applauding what I had offered to the Committee they fell upon him, and he was ſtabbed twice, once in the forehead and the other was in his ſide, ſo that he hardly eſcaped with his life; and as ſoon as he was dreſſed by the chirurgions, he ſaid, he came to give me warning of them, they were ſo incenſed againſt me it would be dangerous to ſtir abroad for ſome time, ſeeing my life was threatened.

By this it appears what a ſpirit it is that pleads for tithes; inſomuch as I wonder nothing at their lying, railing, and abuſing me about this city, and in Martin-in-the-Fields, where the Preſbyterian profeſſors follow their old trade of venting and inventing to the amazement of honeſt men. . . . . But for all this ſtorm their tithe muſt tumble, and the ſtanding, too, of thoſe nationaliſts ere long.

Clergy and Lawyers.

There be two ſorts of men that muſt and will be my profeſſed adverſaries, viz. the national clergy and the Norman lawyers. Whiles I am engaged againſt the Babylonian and Norman yokes, and ſtrike at the block or body of them (as I have done at the firſt in a treatiſe of Church Diſcipline, and do at the laſt in theſe lines of Civil Diſcipline), the fierce chips fly about mine ears; but they muſt into the fire ere long, with the beaſt and falſe prophets (Rev. xix. 20). Some brats of this brood are very bitter B * * * biters as well as P * * * biters; but I am poſitive, with *Jo. Huſs*, that all the (National Corrupt) Clergy muſt be quite taken away ere the Church of Chriſt be truly reformed, or Antichriſt fall. I hear ſome are purſuing me with the rage of the Red Dragon (Rev. xii.), and in chief the forenamed ſcandalous libeller *Crofton*, of Garlick-hithe, the fitteſt man for ſuch a buſineſs I know of. He is, it ſeems, full of arts, and ſciences, and tongues too, for wronging and ſlandering; and whiles he dialogues with his noſe, his communication is mere ſmoke. This is he that

Backbiters and Preſbyters.

calls all Independents Devils, and ſays they are damned that are ſo. This is he that preacheth they were damned that took the Engagement (as I have it to ſhow under an honeſt miniſter's hand). This is he that, on pain of damnation, and as they will anſwer it before him at the day of Judgment, requires the people to hear him only, and not ſtir from him to any other man. This is he that is ſo notoriouſly known for a ſcurrilous and ſcandalous Prieſt in many counties, and is moſt groſſly Popiſh, both in doctrine and practice, as doth appear to many, and may ere long to more. This is he that is always ſlandering and perſecuting the people of God, calling them nauſeous names and making lies of them in the pulpit; yea, of ſuch as are aſleep in the grave, whom he inhumanly ſlanders, and what not that is ignoble and unworthy. Far, much worſe I might ſpeak, but I ſhall ſpare him and the reader."

Rogers concludes this part of his book with a few words on the approach of the Fifth Monarchy, of which he ſpeaks more fully afterwards.

. . . . "Schoolboys look after holydays, worldly men after rent days, chapmen after market days, travellers after fair days, profeſſors after Lord's days, and the people of God long for theſe days of Chriſt, viz. the end of the four monarchies (Dan. vii.), that the Fifth may come, wherein Chriſt and his ſaints ſhall rule the world. Mark it, by Anno 1656 the flood begins; and, as in *Noah's* flood, after the doors were ſhut up there was no mercy, though they came wading middle deep, ſo let this be an alarum to all men to make haſte while the door of the ark is open. In few years they will find it ſhut; and then, though they wade through and through much danger, whether Parliament men, Army men, Merchant men, Clergy men, Lawyers, or others, they may find it too late, and that their delays have bred dangers; for the door will be ſhut

What days we look for.

1656. By that year Haſte—Haſte—Haſte.

ſhortly. My aim herein is to awaken them all up to their work, in the reſtoration of God's laws and government, the people's liberties and privileges, the Commonwealth's comfort and advantages, in Chriſt's kingdom and appearances, which is and ſhall be the mark of my arrow, yea the rainbow of my cloud that looks on the ſun, and that which my ſoul ſhall pump out apace in all my prayers to God in Chriſt for this Commonwealth, whoſe honeſt, faithful ſervant I am in my heart, without the cunning politick or artificial compoſition of compliments, though I muſt and do ſuffer for my ſincerity and ſimplicity."

The character of the foreign policy which *Rogers* and his party advocated is exhibited in the following digreſſion, which is introduced into the firſt part of his book, and opens the way for the main attack upon Lawyers.

A digreſſion.

"Let me digreſs a little now, for the public's ſake, in this my diſcourſe, to acquaint the Governours of our Nation how much the meſſage from Bourdeaux in France, or any other nation concerns us; for we are bound by the law of God to help our neighbour as well as ourſelves, and ſo to aid the ſubjects of other princes that are either perſecuted for true religion or oppreſſed under tyranny. What mean our Governours to take no more notice of this? How durſt our army to be ſtill, now the work is to do abroad? Are there no Proteſtants in France and Germany even under perſecution? And do not the ſubjects of France that lie under the iron yoke of tyranny ſend and ſeek and ſue to us for aſſiſtance? Well, woe be to us 'if we help not the Lord (Judg. v. 23) againſt the mighty;' for it is the Lord hath ſent for us thither, and calls for a part of our army at leaſt into France or Holland. Therefore, 'Curſed be they that do the work of the Lord negligently,' or but by halves (Jer. xlviii. 10).

To aſſiſt our neighbours.

France.

Holland.

Wherefore, let me tell our army and ſtateſmen that if they belong to the Lord yet, and if God hath good to do by them yet, that then they ſhall not be able to ſit ſtill long; for if they will not take their work abroad they ſhall have it home, as ſure as God lives and is righteous. For where the kingdom of Chriſt comes, there is no ſuch thing as bounds, or limits, or rivers, or ſeas, that ſhall cage up or confine the fervent zeal and flaming affections of an Army, Repreſentative, or People ſpirited for the work of Chriſt, which is more and more public, and looks beyond ſeas now. O no! no more than the bounds or limits of a pariſh ſhall confine a miniſter of the Goſpel to the ſpiritual work of Chriſt.

A word to the Army.

The work will go beyond ſeas.

So, as it is againſt the law of nature for the King of France to be worſe than an enemy to his own citizens and ſubjects, ſo it is as much againſt the law of God, ſhould they ſupplicate to us for aſſiſtance, to be worſe than neighbours; and then ſuch profeſſors and pretenders for the kingdom of Chriſt as we make a noiſe of in the world to be, if we ſtrike not now in for the intereſt of Chriſt, and take not the opportunity to viſit thoſe coaſts, and to view the condition of the Proteſtants and oppreſſed ones in that kingdom.

The Gadites deſired to be at reſt and to go no further, but to ſtay on the other ſide Jordan and to live there; which though *Moſes* aſſented to, yet it was with this proviſo, that they ſhould go on and aſſiſt their other brethren with their whole work, and go thorough-ſtick with it, now they had begun it, until the Iſraelites had conquered the land of Canaan—yea, and to go firſt out, as in the van, becauſe they would firſt ſit down; and if they refuſed to do this, then they were anathematized and deſtined to deſtruction, like them that were adjudged rebels at Cadeſh Barnea, and none of them by the decree of God were ever to enter into the land of Canaan. So ſuch of the Army, Repreſentative,

Gadites—who, now.

and Commonwealth that have no heart to go further beyond the ſeas (Jordan), but would be at reſt on this ſide, ſhould hear a *Moſes* ſay, What! What! your brethren go on and fight further for Canaan, and you ſit ſtill and live lazing and idling at home! No, no! away, you that would firſt ſit down and lay down your arms and live in peace, get you firſt out beyond Jordan; for you ſhall not return to your cattle and corn, and fine, finical fig-leaves, to be coached and complimented into effeminacy and fooleries; no, nor yet to dwell at home in England with your wives, until the Lord hath driven his enemies before you, and granted a place to your brethren beyond Jordan, as well as to you on this ſide it; and then you ſhall return in peace and with welcome, and be innocent before the Lord and his people Iſrael, and abide in quietneſs, and not till then.

When 'tis time for the Army to reſt.

And let not men diſpute ſo much whether it be lawful to defend or ſtrike in for another's liberty and deliverance, if it were lawful to do ſo for our own, ſeeing we muſt love our neighbour as ourſelves. If we love Chriſt in our own nation, why not in another? and if juſtice, and peace, and piety, and righteouſneſs among ourſelves, why not among others? O! for ſhame, ſirs! let's rub our eyes and look about us. And after the wicked lawyers have had a bang, let us beat a march and alarm the whole world (Jer. l. 2). 'Declare ye among the nations and publiſh, and ſet up a ſtandard; publiſh and conceal not, (till ye) ſay Babylon is taken.' 'Who is on my ſide, ſaith the Lord — who?' 'Come againſt her from the utmoſt border (even Ireland and Scotland), open her ſtorehouſes, caſt her up as heaps; deſtroy her utterly—let nothing of her be left. Woe unto them, for their day is come, the time of their viſitation. The vengeance of the Lord our God, yea the vengeance of his Temple (or Churches).' Jer. l. 26—29.

Our warrant for this.

An alarm.

I intended not this length, but the Lord would have it ſo; and ſo I come in again to the Lawyers.

The two plagues of this nation roſe up both from the bottomleſs ſmoke, and are the Prieſts and the Lawyers. Both alike they keep up a corrupt, carnal, antichriſtian intereſt. The Prieſts would fill the cup of the harlot for the nation to drink of, and the Lawyers would clothe her with ſcarlet. But woe be to us if either be ſuffered to trade; 'for becauſe thou haſt let go them that I have appointed to utter deſtruction, therefore thy life ſhall go for theirs, and thy people for theirs' (1 Kings xx. 42).

Prieſts and Lawyers the two plagues that roſe together.

They muſt fall together, ſeeing ever ſince Edward III. his time in England they were advanced together, as to their height and intereſt. The Lawyers, who are tyrants and oppreſſors of the civil ſtate, may as well be compared to the locuſts, mentioned Rev. ix. 3,* &c. as the Prieſts the tyrants and oppreſſors of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate. For—

Lawyers locuſts.

1. Out of the ſmoke which darkened the air as well as the ſun, earth as well as heaven, and ſo out of that Antichriſtian darkneſs which aroſe upon the ſtate, civil as well

1. Ariſing out of the bottomleſs pit ſmoke.

* "And he opened the bottomleſs pit, and there aroſe a ſmoke out of the pit as the ſmoke of a great furnace; and the ſun and the air were darkened by reaſon of the ſmoke of the pit. And there came out of the ſmoke locuſts upon the earth, and unto them was given power as the ſcorpions of the earth had power; and it was commanded them that they ſhould not hurt the graſs of the field, neither any green thing, neither any tree, but only thoſe men which have not the ſeal of God in their foreheads. And to them it was given that they ſhould not kill them, but that they ſhould be tormented five months; and their torment was as the torment of a ſcorpion when he ſtriketh a man. And in thoſe days ſhall men ſeek death and ſhall not find it, and ſhall deſire to die and death ſhall flee from them. And the ſhapes of the locuſts were like unto horſes prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions. And they had breaſtplates as it were breaſtplates of iron; and the ſound of their wings was as the ſound of chariots of many horſes running to battle. And they had tails like unto ſcorpions, and there were ſtings in their tails; and their power was to hurt men five months."—Rev. ix. 2-10.

as eccleſiaſtical, came theſe locuſts (ver. 2, 3,) upon the earth, and Lawyers into this kingdom (vide *Malmſbury*). In William II. his time they proceeded from the Roman Clergy.

2. Unclean creatures.

2. Locuſts are unclean creatures, many times tranſlated graſshoppers; and the Midianites and Amalekites which came againſt Iſrael in *Gideon's* days (Judg. vii. 12) were ſaid to be like graſshoppers, which, ſays *Cooper*, ſignifies bodily oppreſſors, Egyptian plagues (as Exodus x. 13, 14.) Grievous! Such are the Lawyers all over the nation.

3. For multitude.

3. Locuſts have their ſtrength in their multitude. O, what heaps of this noiſome vermin may you ſee at a time in the Temple or Weſtminſter Hall. Theſe do make up the numerous army of Antichriſt in this ſtate againſt Chriſt, and are to torment men (Rev. ix. 3, 5, 7); and ſo, Exodus x. 14, they cover the earth.

4. For their variety of orders.

4. Locuſts have their variety of orders, and ye may ſee them noted in their ſeveral colours and marks. Thus have Antichriſt's laity—I mean Lawyers, as well as Antichriſt's Clergy—I mean Prieſts. It were but loſt labour to enter into this number of his name, or to reckon up the variety of orders and degrees of this brood of the beaſt, diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral forms, ſects, and habits of divers faſhions.

5. For their earthly diſpoſition.

5. Locuſts are of earthly diſpoſitions, greedy devourers, inſatiable for covetouſneſs, always deſiring, but never delighting to work, ſow, labour, nor plough, but to eat up the fruits of other men's labours, and to fall or ſeize upon and take poſſeſſion of the beſt meadows, vallies, and pleaſant places of the land. Now the Lawyers, as well as Prieſts, are ſuch a plague of locuſts.

6. For their leaping.

6. Locuſts have a leap like graſshoppers, and ſo have the Lawyers; for like the leopards they get their prey ſaliendo, by leaps, which are ſometimes very large; and as to the things of God, or religious exerciſes, we ſhall find few of them frequent them unleſs by leaps now and then.

I always except ſuch as were Lawyers and are converted. But ſuch are not many. . . . . As to the ſect of them in general, (excepting ſome particular rare ones — ſuch *Zenaſes* as are honeſt and godly amongſt them), theſe locuſts may leap to a little honeſty it may be on Sundays, but all the days after they follow their old trade of lying and oppreſſing, and eating up the greens of the land. 'Subitos dant ſaltus ſed protinus in terram cadunt.' Their ordinary going is but higgle-haggle, here and there, this way and that, on this ſide and on that too, for any cauſe or client, ſo they meet but with an angel* in the way.

Titus iii. 13.

7. Theſe locuſts that help to make up the army of Antichriſt had a power like to ſcorpions given to them (Rev. ix. 3); and ſo have the Lawyers. (1). 'Scorpio eſt blanda facie ſed cauda pungit occulte.' The ſcorpion hath a flattering face, and ſo theſe locuſts (Rev. ix. 7, 8); 'their faces were as the faces of men, and they had hair as the hair of women.' But (ver. 10) their tails were like to ſcorpions, that had ſtings to torment men. All this ſignifies their hypocriſy and craft, as well as cruelty to hurt us. (2). As ſcorpions, ever ſince they were curſed, in Gen. iii. 14—'Thou art curſed above every beaſt of the field, upon thy belly ſhalt thou go and duſt thou ſhalt eat all thy days,'—I ſay ever ſince, with their tails (which torment us) they gather up the duſt of the earth, and feed altogether upon earthly things as their meat. So they, like the unclean beaſts under the law, creep on all four upon the earth, and all this upon their belly too. O bitter curſe! they cannot abide the things above. And this makes them ready to receive petitions, opinions, cauſes, complaints, many hours together, about bodies and eſtates, but cannot abide a petition that concerns ſouls; which lately I tried their patience with before the Lords Commiſſioners, but upon the naming

7. Like ſcorpions.

(1). Flattering faces full of craft and cruelty.

(2). They eat the duſt.

They cannot abide a plea out of Scripture.

* The "angel" was worth originally 6*s.* 8*d.*

of a Scripture or two they would not hear it; at which, drawing my Bible out of my pocket, and telling them that that was the ſtatute book to be uſed in ſuch caſes, and beginning to open ſome Scriptures I came to that in Ezek. xxii. 27—'Her princes are ravening wolves, they ſeek to deſtroy ſouls, to get diſhoneſt gain,' &c; but they fell a chafing and fuming, and would not hear it. But (3). Scorpions ſting, but not dead at firſt, but the wound works by degrees. The Lawyers, like them, ſting deadly; and it were better they killed us right out (Rev. ix. 6) than to conſume, perplex, pain, grieve, afflict us to death by degrees; the plague of them is the worſe. Thus theſe locuſts are like ſcorpions.

(3). They ſting deadly, and by degrees.

8. Monſters.

8. Theſe locuſts were monſter-form, and that multiform, being made up of many ſorts of creatures. So theſe Lawyers are foxes for ſubtlety, vipers for venom, dogs for mouthing it, but tigers for tearing it and cruelty. But (1) in their body, 'Horſes prepared for battle,'—horſes not common, but kept up, and fed, pampered—jades that work not but feed hard, and eat and drink of the beſt. (2) 'On their heads as it were crowns;' ſo are theſe locuſts or Lawyers Antichriſt's army of crowned men in ſtate matters, as well as the Prieſts and Clergy his army in eccleſiaſtical matters, not only in their wear of caps like crowns, but in that they get the legiſlative power, and have (more regum), in the manner of kings, lords, and ſuch like perſons, impoſed laws and ties to conſciences, tyrannizing and oppreſſing all the people of God as their vaſſals and ſubjects. (3). They had 'faces like the faces of men'—that is, (leſt men ſhould loathe and abhor them for their cruelty and curſed diſpoſition), they inſinuate into great places, Kings' courts and palaces, &c. by ſimulation and fine glozing, flattering ſhows of humanity and great humility—having learned the art of diſſembling in their Inns of Court, having it infuſed as a principle, which Kings and

(1). In their bodies.

(2). Their heads.

(3). Their faces.

rulers held by their authority, that none was fit to rule unleſs he can diſſemble. Theſe Lawyers never more diſſemble than when they reſemble the faces of men; for they put the faireſt faces on the fouleſt actions. There be no greater flatterers in the world. But ſoft, ſirs. (4). 'Hair as the hair of women' (Rev. ix. 8); that is, as *Cotterius* notes: 1. 'Varias fraudes,' their variety of art to deceive and inſinuate; 2. 'Ornatum illicitum,' their unlawful attire, to make a great ſhow with fine, ſoft, and delicate ornaments; and 3. 'Effeminatos mores,' their effeminacy and womaniſh fancies and faſhions. And, like women, O how they love their long hair and 'delicate comam alunt, pingunt, mulcent,' powdering and painting it. (5.) 'Their teeth as the teeth of lions' (Rev. ix. 8). Such an expreſſion is in Joel i. 6. 'Voraces et truculenti ſunt,' that is, they are ravenous and cruel; ſo that in the deſcription of them there is 'falſi boni ſimulatio et veri mali diſſimulatio et aperta ſævitia,' a ſemblance of good in their faces, a diſſemblance of evil in their hair; but 'dentibus crudelitas ſignificatur,' by their teeth is figured out open cruelty and tyranny; and be ſure theſe ſtate locuſts or Lawyers, where they cannot get what they would with the firſt or ſecond, they bring in the third, and ſhew their teeth to the purpoſe in tearing away men's eſtates, liberties, and lives too, if they can. 'Omnia rapiunt, æraria exhauriunt, domos devorant, agros vaſtant, crudeles et ſævi ſunt in pios qui in manus eorum incidunt,' making themſelves rich by others' ruin. (6). 'They had habergeons of iron,' Rev. ix. 9. That is, their outward defences, whilſt corrupt laws and Lawyers have been a long time, eſpecially in theſe five months that they have ſo fearfully tormented us (I mean for the 150 years laſt paſt), kept up by ſecular powers, ſo that there was no oppoſing them. (7). 'And the ſound of their wings like the ſound of chariots.' This ſtate army of Antichriſt being, as we heard before, ſo crafty, cruel, fierce, ſtrong,

With their art of diſſembling.

(4). Their hair.

(5). Their teeth terrible.

(6). Habergeons of iron.

(7). Their wings and privileges.

forcible, and armed with ſecular powers, they have wings, that is, ſuch things, advantages, and privileges, with which they fly high in boldneſs and ambition and are elevated exceedingly and lifted up, and eſpecially to the terror of honeſt people. *Beda*, writing on this place, ſays, 'Expaveſcendum magis quam exponendum.' It is rather trembled at than interpreted, how the army of theſe locuſts increaſe; for with their wings they make ſuch a huge noiſe as amazes and amuſes men and makes them afraid of them.

The army of locuſts.

For the noiſe is firſt confuſed, like the ſound of many chariots, uttering no diſtinct noiſe, terrifying the people with horror at their loud, clamorous voices, lamentable lying, pleadings and diſputes, and violent janglings and indiſtinct voices which others muſt not rightly underſtand.

Noiſe of their wings—what.

Secondly, it is comfortleſs, for they neither ſound glory to God nor peace to men, but all vexation, ſuits, troubles, miſchiefs that may be. As King Jabin (Judges, iv. 2, 3) had nine hundred chariots of iron, and for twenty years vexed Iſrael ſore; but theſe have a hundred and twenty years vexed England ſore, ſo that nothing but ruin and undoing is looked for from them, and a man needs no more trouble than to be within the ſound of their chariots and laws, I'll warrant him his heart will ache and quake too. For as 'diverſi currus diverſis viis cum impetu currunt,' &c. Divers chariots run divers ways, and all furiouſly to battle, ſo do theſe Antichriſt's ſtate locuſts, in divers ways perplex us and fling us out of one court into another, with unreaſonable reſtleſſneſs, till they have run over us or ruined us with violent contentions or torments, and that which is worſt is, that they are ſo numerous and run ſo many ways that we can by no means eſcape them.

Lawyers perplex us—how.

(8). Stings in their tails.

8. Theſe monſtrous locuſts 'have ſtings in their tails,' (Rev. ix. 10), not only the prieſts and prelates, and ſo Antichriſt's eccleſiaſtical army, have their tails as officials, commiſſaries, proctors, regiſtrars, and ſuch like, that did grievouſly afflict

and torment men, but alſo the lawyers, Antichriſt's ſtate army, have their long tails too, with terrible ſtings, and ſuch are ſolicitors, clerks, bailiffs, ſerjeants, gaolers, and ſuch like, and it is ſo much to their advantage in tormenting men to have terrible tails that they will have none to execute their warrants, writs, orders, or the like (as near as they can), but the moſt curſed, graceleſs villains they can get, and by this means are men (in the country, above all places) abuſed by bloody villains, drunken ſots, who ſit night and day drinking and ſwilling upon an honeſt man's ſcore whom they have ſerved with a warrant or ſo, and yet uſe him (it may be), if he be a man fearing God, worſe than a dog, in beating, bruiſing, pulling, threatening, and abuſing him all manner of ways, if he do not fill their pouch with money and their paunch with liquor up to the throat. Theſe torment ſo with their tails that ſome men had better be hanged right out than ſo uſed, and (v. 6) 'ſeek death but cannot find it,' 'Mors optanda magis,' whiles clubs and canes lie thumping upon the backs of poor people that once come under the bailiffs, being ſo cruelly plagued, pulled away from their wives, hailed up and down by head and ears, bereaved of their relations, and robbed and ſpoiled of their eſtates and comfortable ſubſiſtence. Oh! how ſad is the torment of their tails, as thouſands can teſtify to this hour. So that all the lawyers' eſtates cannot make amends for the world of miſchief they have done and yet do daily with their tails, which are moſt violent, virulent, and venomous.

Such multitude of clerks, &c. are againſt juſtice and true law.—Mir. of Juſt. fol. 246.

Judge Arnold was hanged for ſaving a bailiff from death who had robbed the people with diſtreſſes and extorted money from them. See Mir. of Juſt. 241. And now the bailiffs do it daily, and no juſtice.

Thus are they deſcribed in their monſter-formity, or monſtrous deformity:—

9. Theſe locuſts have a limited power; As, 1, to perſons (Rev. ix. 4), 'that they ſhould not hurt the graſs, nor the green things, nor the trees; 2, to time (v. 5), 'they had power to hurt but five months.' 1. To perſons. The Saints, who are of three ſorts, reſembled (1) by graſs,

9. Their limited power.

To perſons.

χόρτος, weak, yet ſappy, and (2) by green, χλωρός, flouriſhing things, and (3) by trees of the higheſt and talleſt ſtature in Chriſt, viz.—Fathers, young men, and children (1 John ii). Yet all are to abſtain from lawyers, and the lawyers are to have nothing to do with them, for, as the Apoſtle ſays, 'Dare any of you go to law before the unjuſt,' but as it is in 1 Tim. i. 9, the law is not made for the righteous man, but for the lawleſs and diſobedient, for ungodly and for ſinners, for unholy and profane, ſo it is Rev. ix. 4, for them that have not the ſeal on their foreheads. 2. To time. But five months. . . . taking in Scripture ſenſe a day for a year (Num. xiv. 34) at thirty days for a month, yet five months is but 150 years, which is a ſhort time. But to this I think Bullinger ſays well that the alluſion is made to the time of the locuſts or graſſhoppers coming forth, which is about April, as we ſay, and continues to September, i. e. the five hot months. So theſe locuſts have a ſummer time of doing miſchief for about the ſpace of 150 or 155 years, which will be a hot time for them. They ſing, and leap, and devour.

To time.

> Don Pluto dares not to aſſay, though he be Prince of Hell,
> So much as lawyers dare, though they their ſouls to angels ſell."

He proceeds to argue that we muſt not reckon from the firſt time of power, for that is of long ſtanding, i. e. from Edward the Confeſſor and William the Conqueror, but from the time when the weather began to grow warm upon them, i. e. from 1369 until H. 7, 1504.

"Then their ſummer months to do miſchief and to torment the people came on apace, and continued hot to them, that they had and did almoſt what they liſted; but now their five months, i. e. 150 years, are upon expiring, and their power to torment will be no more by a year or two, their September is hard by, and a weſt wind will

The lawyers' end within a year or two.

remove them out of thoſe places wherein they have ſat, and ſung, and plagued us for five months.

But to conclude this chapter, we might well wonder how the lawyers yet ſtood, ſeeing the prieſts, and prelates, and ſuch like locuſts were ſwept away, but that their five months we find began here in England after the prieſts and prelates, yet now the day of their deſtiny draws nigh. 'Wherefore, gird up thy loins,' ſaith the Lord, 'and ſpeak unto them all that I command thee. Be not diſmayed at their faces, leſt I confound thee before them.'"

This invective is given at much length, though alſo with much condenſation, both as a ſpecimen of *Rogers'* detailed application of prophecy, and becauſe Law and Lawyers, ſupplying as they did one of the two great political queſtions of the day, were the ſubject of his book. From it he proceeds to declare the advent of the Fifth Monarchy.

The Fifth Monarchy now hard by.

Daniel tells us of four Beaſts. The laſt of theſe beaſts had ten horns, amongſt which roſe another little horn, and this little horn perſecuted the ſaints till the judgment ſat, when they took away his dominion and deſtroyed it for ever.

Now the four Beaſts are the four great Monarchies; the ten horns are the ten European kingdoms which aroſe out of the laſt of thoſe Monarchies. As concerning the little horn, "with much aſſurance and clear ſight," he aſſerts it to be *William the Conqueror* and his Norman ſucceſſors, all fierce perſecutors of the ſaints, but cut off at laſt and for ever by "the Judgment, which was anno 1648 in that High Court of Judicature erected for the King's trial." After this comes the Fifth Monarchy. By 1660 the work of this monarchy is to get as far as Rome, and by 1666, is to be viſible in all the earth. It will come myſteriouſly, ſuddenly, and terribly, and will redeem the people—1ſt, from eccleſiaſtical bondage, decrees, councils, orders, and ordinances of the Pope, prieſt, prelate, or the like; 2, from civil bondage and ſlavery, or thoſe bloody, baſe, unjuſt, accurſed, tyrannical laws and ſin-monopolizing lawyers as now oppreſs and afflict the people. And ſo he calls on the Parliament—the Barebones Parliament, then ſitting—to prepare everything for the entry of the Fifth

The little horn —i. e. William the Conqueror.

The manner how.

For the Redemption of the people—

from eccleſiaſtical ſlavery of ſouls—

from civil ſlavery of bodies.

1. To model all for the Fifth Monarchy.
2. That the laws agree with God's laws.
3. To do all for Chriſt and his monarchy.

Monarchy; and, in order to this—1. To appoint none except the ſaints to place or office. 2. To aboliſh all thoſe unjuſt and cruel laws, and to pull down thoſe courts, terms, and lawyers, yea, and tithes, too, which have occaſioned ſuch actions, continued complaints, and vexations to the people, and wrongs to God and men, good and bad. 3. To ſet up God's law alone, being that in Deut. vi. 1.

"Theſe are the Commandments" (i. e. the ten in two tables given to *Moſes* on Mount Sinai, Exod. xx.) "the Statutes," (i. e. the ſeveral caſes ariſing out of each Commandment tending to eſtabliſh and confirm each command) "and the judgments," (i. e. the ſentence upon the breach of every law, how, and what, the puniſhment muſt be). Now this law, ſtatute-book, and judgment-ſeat of God muſt be ſet up in the Fifth Monarchy, and then ſhall we be reſtored to (1) God's laws; (2) in our own language, (3) read, and expounded, and made known to the people, (4) at free coſt, without charge, (5) juſtice will be had at home then, and judges ſit in all the gates of the cities, (6) and every man plead his own cauſe, (then no need of lawyers), (7) juſtice will not be delayed, but ſpeedy, (8) and executed without gainſaying, according to the law (ſet) of God, and without reſpect of perſons, (9) then judges ſhall be as at firſt, and juſtice alſo in every city, and (10) then the Lord will be our only lawgiver, and the law abide for ever, without alteration, as there is now, and ought to be, in the forms of men. "Wherefore, if you be men whom the Lord will own and honour in the work, up then and about it. . . The Lord Jeſus awaken you with the noiſe of the Monarchy which is ſwift in motion and now nigh us, leſt you be ſurpriſed."

In the Fifth Monarchy.

To avoid faction and parties.

Laſtly, he urges them to avoid making of parties and running into contentions, as the former Parliaments had done.

The pretty deſign of the former Parliament.

"O what hot conteſts were between the two parties in general of Preſbyterians and Independents (beſides particular parties) in the Parliament before. What ways they had thereby to advance and advantage themſelves and friends was obvious to every eye, and by this pretty artifice they ſhared the Commonwealth almoſt between them. Beſides private cheats, what abundance of open ones, by gifts, rich offices, and employments in committees

and treaſures they obtained! And in pretence of ſerving the public, too, they ſhuffled the trumps into their own hands, and how artificially have they confounded the accounts by laying on numberleſs taxes and aſſeſſments, whilſt the multitude of money ran through ſo many muddy channels, committees, officers, and collecting lickfingers, as it is impoſſible to make any public account thereof. So that, notwithſtanding all fair promiſes to the people, no accounts are or ever will be given of thoſe many millions of money which were made by King's lands, biſhops' and deans' and delinquents' eſtates, arrears, exciſe, aſſeſſment, and the like, which ſome have licked up ſo handſomely into inſatiable tubs, εἰς πίθον τετριμμένον, &c. that they bought great manors and lordſhips of many hundreds a year, whilſt poor *publica fides* is but *Punica fides*.

Thus by their factions they had their ſeveral deſigns for themſelves and intereſts of their own, and with their Hocus Pocus could conjure up and carry their own for the public, and in pretence of the public, with honour and wealth enough, they did gladly ſacrifice the public peace to their own private intereſts, and when they had ſet all on fire, as ſeveral times they did in the nation by troubles and wars, they would with joy warm their own hands at thoſe unhappy and unhallowed flames which themſelves kindled. Witneſs *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Maſſey*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, and many others more lately whom I forbear. But ſee thus the iſſue of parties and factions in the Parliament, to the hindrance and hurt of the public; and O how do honeſt men's hearts ache already to hear what factions, ſchiſms, and parties are in this Parliament. Yea, about the poor, petty, Popiſh traſh and trumpery of tithes, which ſhall tumble in due time, when ſelf-intereſt is more laid aſide, and Chriſt is with more unanimous concurrence accepted of; for the harlot ſhall be ſtripped, though Babylon's birds lament it ſo. But in the interim, we truſt our good God will give theſe

So now parties about tithes.

governours a new clue to lead them out of this labyrinth. . . .

But to conclude, the day of our deliverance is dawned. Let the prieſts and lawyers, Antichriſt's Church and State ſervants and ſolicitors, ſit and howl, and as many as trade with Babylon and gain thereby. Let them look and lament by
1655. fifty-five next, and caſt duſt on their heads (Rev. xviii. 19), for the hour of their torment makes haſte. Wherefore, woe! woe! woe! to them that hear the voice which now warns them, and yet will not beware and come out."

"Bethſhemeſh" and "Sagrir" attracted a hoſt of critics, of whom *Zachary Crofton* was the moſt eminent, and his book alone has deſcended to poſterity.

Crofton's criticiſms on "Bethſhemeſh" are minute, perſonal, and pedantic. Commencing with reflections on the ſize, the price, the frontiſpiece, and the title-page of the book, he arrives by degrees at the dedicatory epiſtles, and with the materials they ſupply he attacks not only the political and religious opinions, but the perſonal and bodily infirmities of the author; not only his "pride, paſſion, and inſolency," but the weakneſs of his conſtitution and the colour of his face. A very few extracts will ſhow that in his attacks on the Preſbyterians *Rogers* did not attack men who were unwilling or unable to retaliate in kind, and will ſhow alſo the eſtimation in which he, his books and his "Exerciſes," were held by contemporary and unfriendly critics. The following is *Crofton's* account, not perhaps a very unfair one, of *Rogers'* ſtyle of controverſy:—

"Let any ingenuous man read his reaſoning, and they ſhall find him railing beyond the bounds of modeſty, as the denominating parochial conſtitution an antichriſtian, corrupt, Chriſt-crucifying, Chriſt-ſlighting, and Chriſt-deſtroying Church ſtate, and all pariſhes ſynagogues of Satan; without any demonſtration that they are ſuch, more than that they differ from his fancy. So alſo, the reviling the late Aſſembly as lordly uſurpers of Chriſt's power, bold brazen-faced myſ-

tery of iniquity, compoſers of a doctrine for aſſes, and ſuch-like epithets doth he uſe for all Preſbyterian Aſſemblies and Miniſters, which modeſty doth bluſh to mention. Amongſt others, he ſingles out by name but one antagoniſt, and takes notice of one only piece oppoſing his doctrine. Yet the weapons with which you ſhall find him fighting are no other than the ſlanderous traducing of the ſuppoſed author, calumniating him with the titles of lying, poor, empty, wide-mouthed libeller, ſcandalous philo-compos, violent comet, Jeſuitical Preſbyter, furious-pated, and one outed of his place for ſcandal and malignancy; and the work itſelf, though no other than a modeſt propoſal of juſt exceptions, by denominating it a frothy pamphlet, malicious, ſpurious, and frog-like froth, not rendering the leaſt anſwer to any one objection in it, nor reaſon for ſuch reviling terms, other than mere falſities and poſitive untruths."

The Author of the Taſte of the Doctrine of the Exerciſe at Thomas Apoſtle's.

And this is *Crofton's* own ſtyle of rejoinder:—

"His Firſt Epiſtle is to the *General Cromwell*, in which we may obſerve theſe few conſiderations. . . . He ſaith, 'I do profeſs it from my heart, that the greateſt temptation I ſhould fear falling into would be great honour, eſteem, place, preferment, or means too much or unfit for me.' A fair profeſſion. But a little to expoſtulate with the Rabbi. Do any that know your proud and ambitious genius, even your intimate friends that obſerve the very frame of your heart, give credit to the ſame? Will the Commiſſioners of Ireland, from your inſulting carriage and inſolent conteſt, nay, almoſt any that knew you in Dublin, conclude this to be true, who generally repreſent you to be of a contrary diſpoſition? Doth your holding Purleigh, in Eſſex, when you embraced another place not far thence, or of inferior means, when you offered you know who thirty or forty pounds per annum to be

"Bethſhemeſh Clouded."

your curate in the one, or of your holding Purleigh and receiving the State's ſalary of £200 per annum, tax free, (as himſelf confeſſeth in page 28) in Ireland, nay Purleigh and Thomas Apoſtles, London, ſince at the ſame time, ſupplying the one by *Mr. Needham;* nay, will your ſolicitous ſeeking after great benefices, your rage againſt *Mr. Maynard* (a known faithful man), but for being a juſt inſtrument to ſtop your purſuit, or yet your ſubtle obtaining of the Great Seal for Martin's-in-the-Fields, to the ſupplanting of *Mr. Sangor*, poſſeſſed of it, and unjuſt impoſing of yourſelf and miniſtry on the people, not only undeſired and uncalled for, but expreſly refuſed and denied, conclude or proclaim to the world that the falling into great places and means is the great temptation you fear? For ſhame, man! —recall your profeſſion or publiſh better demonſtration, leſt you be not believed. . : . .

I ſhall paſs from this briefly to his next epiſtles, which are all of them ſo full of levity, falſity, vanity, and loquacity, for method indigeſted, for matter various and variouſly repeated, for manner—ſometimes complaining of his own miſhaps, and I doubt juſtly incurred troubles and ſelf-created oppoſition, proclaiming his own pride, paſſion, inſolency, as made obvious in every place whither he came—ſometimes, Momus-like, carping at and condemning others, with unjuſt criminations, railing and reviling, more than rationally convincing; and herein ſometimes he reflects on the Preſbyterians in general, then on the late Aſſembly of Divines, ſometimes on ſome in Ireland, then on the men that carry on Blackfriars Exerciſe, ſometimes on particular perſons, as *Mr. Maynard* and myſelf; ſo that, in a great, high-flown, furious fancy, he falls on all to clear himſelf; whilſt he doth but more fully manifeſt his ignorance, impudence, imbecility, impertinencies and what not, that may proclaim a man ſwelling with pride to boil over in paſſion; and ſo indeed preſents

himſelf much more *Zoilus* than Zealous (though he abundantly affect the latter); ſo that the very foam and froth that he diſgorgeth in his Epiſtle is ſufficient to render his tabernacle diſtaſteful to any civil, modeſt, ingenuous, rational man, though of his own judgment."

Crofton proceeds to accuſe his adverſary of being actuated by a ſpirit of obſcurity and darkneſs, a ſpirit of error, a ſpirit of ſelf-contradiction, a ſpirit of ſelf-condemnation, a ſpirit moſt groſsly abuſing authors whom he pretendeth to produce, and moſt palpably abuſing the Scriptures, with which he jingles and makes a ſtir as if every text were the very principles he fancies, when many of them, to a due obſerver, will be found altogether impertinent to the thing to which they are annexed as proof. All this it is unneceſsary to exhibit. But in the Appendix to "Bethſhemeſh Clouded" *Crofton* gives an account of the original diſpute between himſelf and *Rogers*, which affords us, at no unreaſonable length, a life-like picture of a denominational ſquabble of the time.

"A Vindication of 'A Taſte of the Doctrine of Thomas Apoſtle's' and of its Author."

"In the foregoing treatiſe," ſays *Crofton*, "I have endeavoured to reſcue the truths and churches of God from *Mr. Rogers'* fancies and falſe cenſures: give me leave a little to reſcue my own name from his ſlanders, and repreſent to you his dealings with me in particular; wherein I may ſay of him, as *Dr. Rivet* of *Biſhop Montague*, 'This man cannot ſo much as motion any man from whom he differs in opinion, though it be but in the ſlighteſt matters, without reproach.' That I may be brief, I ſhall, in order to my own vindication, lay before you the cauſe and calumny or matter he urgeth againſt me.

1. In reference to the cauſe, you muſt underſtand that about December laſt there was erected, then a new, already become a late exerciſe, at Thomas Apoſtle's, London, on Friday evenings, at the firſt of which *Mr. Rogers* preached, and with a loud cry called into his tabernacle or church way. Againſt which exerciſe, and in ſpecial *Mr. Rogers'*

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ſermon, there was ſome juſt exception taken; and in a little book entitled 'A Taſte of the newly erected Exerciſe at Thomas Apoſtle's, London,' firſt ſignified to the Rabbi, and ſo indeed to the world; and this was that which provoked *Mr. Rogers* againſt me, for till this he heard me and embraced me.

Well, many men wonder why the coming abroad of this pamphlet ſhould ſo much provoke, for the modeſty of its ſtyle may be ſubmitted to the judgment and cenſure of the meekeſt Independent; nay, and withal it bears not my name upon it. Aye! but upon a convention of ſaints at his houſe, it muſt be judged my work, for two reaſons, which muſt be ſent for to hear. (1). The words 'faith of aſſurance' and 'faith of adherence' had been in my mouth on the Lord's day, and in this on Friday following; ergo, it was a judicious reaſon. (2). I ſaid to *Mr. Corken*, 'I would break this exerciſe;' and this was the way to it, to publiſh this paper. That the exerciſe was broken up I was and am glad, but that I ſo ſpake I denied. Yet, indeed, when I ſaw the countenance of the fatherleſs child, I offered to be its nurſe, though I called not myſelf its father. I did and do aver the exceptions therein to be juſtly laid and modeſtly propounded, and ſuch as ſhould be maintained againſt their fury; and this was the cauſe of laying this book at my door and fathering it on me as its author, and flying in my face for its exceptions—from which conſider theſe. (1). That difference of opinion is the cauſe of his rage. This is very ſuitable to his liberty of conſcience for all opinions, and unity among ſaints of all judgments. (Lib. 2).

(2). That modeſt exceptions are anſwered with violent calumniations of the author, not one reaſonable anſwer being given to any one exception, but railing on the poor paper—branding it as a frothy and nameleſs pamphlet, malicious, ſpurious, frog-like froth.

(3). For this he muſt fly in my face, on mere conjecture that I was the author. Suppoſe I had been, was there cauſe thus to whip home the poor babe, and with Billingſgate weapons to fly in the face of the father? Was this author the only exceptor againſt his doctrine? Witneſs the voice from the gallery the firſt night, and in the chancel the ſecond night, excepting againſt his doctrine. Oh, but theſe were Anabaptiſtical brethren, and therefore to be indulged. Nay, again, had I not cauſe to have publiſhed it, to the reſcue of my name from the repute of falling in with ſuch a fanatic ſociety which began to ariſe?—for that, on a paper ſubtlely conveyed to me when in the pulpit, amongſt the bills expreſſing the wants to be prayed for, I had (being, indeed, ſuddenly ſurpriſed), given notice to my hearers of a lecture to be held at that place by miniſters of Weſtminſter and London, though not one that I know of appeared; and for that alſo, expecting the lecture to be accordingly performed, I was amongſt them as a hearer, unto the offence of ſome which ſpake to me of it; ſo that I ſay, had I as the author ſigned it with my name, what cauſe had there been of ſuch retort?—but much leſs can ſuch dealing with a man on mere conjecture be commended. But to paſs from the cauſe of the Rabbi's rage to the matter which he chargeth on me. The matter charged is twofold; firſt, that which concerns the book and its author—ſecondly, that which concerns my perſon."

After defending his book, *Crofton* charges *Rogers* with ſetting about to deſtroy his character.

"In order to which, he lays about and enquires all Cheſhire men out that he can hear of that there have known me, and he ſtrictly enquires of them concerning my carriage in that country—whether I were not a malignant or ſcandalous man, and endeavours to get depoſitions before the Committee for plundered miniſters. The truth of this

you may conjecture from his dealing with *Mr. Sam. Baxter*, Miniſter of St. Olave's, Silver Street, London, whom he ſent for three ſeveral times to his houſe; and when he came to the ſame, he aſſiſted with his learned colleague *Rabbi Walker*,* he requires his anſwers to certain interrogatories, compoſed for the purpoſe, concerning me and my carriage in Cheſhire and thoſe parts. Nay, and to deter him into accuſations of me, he threatens the calling him before the Army—terrible judges, to give in evidence againſt me. And yet, *Mr. Baxter* not regarding his threats, and ſo not (as indeed he could not) anſwering his expectations, he goes to Weſtminſter, and from thence ſends a deterring ſummons to *Mr. Baxter*, ſigned by *Mr. Shepherd*, deputy of the ward of Martin's Vintry, wherein he was required forthwith to appear before him, to give in evidence againſt *Zachary Crofton*.

Is not this meekneſs—with a Mahometan ſpirit, to advance his principles 'vi et armis,' by force and fury?"

So much for a theological quarrel, which probably received conſiderable attention in the year 1653.

* Henry Walker was originally an ironmonger, and afterwards a ſtudent at Queen's College, Cambridge. He was ordained deacon by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. When Charles I. went to the city to demand the five members of the Houſe of Commons who had taken refuge there, Walker, from the crowd, ſhouted "To your tents, O Iſrael!" and threw a pamphlet with that title into the King's coach. He took a very active part againſt Laud in his adverſity, publiſhing "Canterbury's Pilgrimage," "Canterbury's Dream," &c. During the Protectorate he incurred the bitter hatred of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men as the editor of the Government newſpaper.

Somers' Tracts, iv. 439, note.

CHAPTER IV.

WHILE *Rogers* was vituperating lawyers, and *Crofton* vituperating *Rogers*, the Barebones Parliament came to an end. Viewed as a Revolutionary Convention, which it was, and not as a Parliament, which it was not, it hardly deſerved the amount of ridicule it has received. *Carlyle* thus ſums up the hiſtory of its doings and the cauſe of its fall:—"In their five months time they paſſed various good Acts; choſe, with good inſight, a new Council of State; took wiſe charge of the needful ſupplies; did all the routine buſineſs of a Parliament in a quite unexceptionable, or even in a ſuperior manner. . . . But, alas, they had decided on aboliſhing Tithes, on ſupporting a Chriſtian Miniſtry by ſome other method than Tithes;—nay, far worſe, they had decided on aboliſhing the Court of Chancery! Finding grievances greater than could be borne; finding, for one thing, Twenty-three thouſand Cauſes of from five to thirty years continuance lying undetermined in Chancery, it ſeemed to the Little Parliament that ſome Court ought to be contrived which would actually determine theſe and the like Cauſes;—and that, on the whole, Chancery would be better for abolition. Vote to that effect ſtands regiſtered in the Commons Journals; but ſtill, for near two hundred years now, only expects fulfilment.—So far as one can diſcover in the huge twilight of Dryaſduſt, it was mainly by this attack on the Lawyers, and attempt to aboliſh Chancery, that the Little Parliament periſhed. Tithes helped, no doubt; and the clamours of a ſafely ſettled Miniſtry, Preſbyterian-Royaliſt many of them. But the Lawyers exclaimed: 'Chancery? Law

of the Bible?. Do you mean to bring-in the *Moſaic diſpenſation*, then; and deprive men of their properties? Deprive men of their properties; and us of our learned wigs and lucrative long-windedneſs,—with your ſearch for 'Simple Juſtice' and 'God's Law' inſtead of Learned-Serjeant's Law?' There was immenſe 'carouſing in the Temple' when this Parliament ended; as great tremors had been in the like quarters while it continued."

Carlyle's Oliver Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 224.

The attack on the lawyers was doubtleſs the main cauſe of the fall of the Barebones Parliament, but the immediately preceding cauſe was the Tithe queſtion. On Saturday, the 10th of December, Parliament paſſed a reſolution by a majority of fifty-ſix to fifty-four, which was conſidered equivalent to a vote for the abolition of tithes. This was the time for *Cromwell* to interfere. The Parliament had previouſly alienated the army by backwardneſs in voting its pay; it had now made deadly enemies of the lawyers, the clergy, and the lay impropriators of tithes. *Cromwell* and his party ſpent Sunday in conſultation. On Monday, December 12, they packed the Houſe, and before the oppoſite party had fully aſſembled it was moved and carried, "That the ſitting of this Parliament any longer, as now conſtituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that therefore it is requiſite to deliver up unto the *Lord General Cromwell* the powers which they received from him." Whereupon the Speaker roſe "in an irruptious way," and with many members of the Houſe departed to Whitehall, where they reſigned their powers into the hands of *Cromwell*. *Major-General Harriſon*, who with ſome twenty-ſeven others remained ſitting, was expelled from the Houſe—very much as he had expelled others—by a file of muſketeers.

Burton's Diary, I. xiv.

Merc. Pol., Dec. 9 to 16, No. 183.

"Old Leaven Purged Out," p. 56.

"An Exact Relation," in Somers' Tracts, vi. 266.

Thus periſhed the "Barebones" or "Little" Parliament, after ſitting from July 4 to December 12, 1653. *Cromwell*, according to his cuſtom in ſuch caſes, convened a council of his officers, who, after ſeveral days ſeeking of God and adviſing therein, reſolved that a Council of twenty-one godly, able, and diſcreet perſons ſhould be named, and that his Excellency ſhould be choſen Lord Protector of the three nations. "In purſuance hereof," continued the Government newſpaper, "ſeveral perſons of eminency and worth are already made choice of to be of the ſaid council, and on Friday laſt [the 16th] His Excellency came down to Weſtminſter and was inſtalled Lord Protector of the three nations."

Perfect Diurnal, No. 210, Dec. 12 to 19, 1653.

The Fifth-Monarchy-Men were furious. They execrated the government of any and every "ſingle perſon," whether pope, prince, or protector. England's work and their own was not to raiſe up but to throw down principalities and powers; they had fought and bled, they had preached and prayed, they had caſt out and brought in, that they might have "no king but Jeſus," and now they were outwitted, betrayed, and were likely to be oppreſſed by the very man whom they had moſt truſted.

Cromwell was fully aware of the fury of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, which, indeed, they did not attempt to conceal. It is ſaid by *Oldmixon*, in his Hiſtory of the Stuarts, that the chiefs of their party were at this time *Major-General Harriſon*, *Colonel Rich*, and *Mr. Carew* among the laity, and *Rogers*, *Feake*, and *Simpſon* among the clergy. The three firſt were ſummoned at once before *Cromwell*, and when they refuſed to engage not to act againſt him, *Harriſon* was ordered to his houſe in Staffordſhire, *Carew* was impriſoned in Pendennis Caſtle, and *Rich* committed to the cuſtody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. The miniſters would have been unmoleſted if they could have remained ſilent, but ſilence in that day of rebuke and blaſphemy was to them not only a ſin but an impoſſibility. The Barebones Parliament reſigned on the 12th of December, the Protectorate was announced on the 16th, and two days afterwards, that is to ſay, on Sunday, the 18th, *Feake* and a certain *Vavaſor Powell* declared open war, and told their hearers in Chriſt Church, Newgate, that *Oliver Cromwell* was "the diſſemblingeſt perjured villain in the world, and deſired that, if there were any of his friends there, they would go and tell him what they ſaid, and withal, that his reign was but ſhort, and that he ſhould be ſerved worſe than that great tyrant the laſt Lord Protector was, he being altogether as bad, if not worſe than he." The next day, Monday, the 19th, the Lord Protector was proclaimed by the heralds in Weſtminſter and the City, and *Vavaſor Powell* preached againſt him again in the ſame ſtrain. Two days afterwards, on the 21ſt, *Feake* and *Powel* were ſummoned before the Council, and committed to the cuſtody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, but they were releaſed on the 24th, in time for *Powell* to preach againſt *Cromwell* for the third time on Sunday the 25th.

P. 423.

Thurloe, i. 641.

Nor was *Rogers* idle. On the very day (Dec. 21) on which his brethren were ſummoned before the Council, he publiſhed the following epiſtle to *Oliver Cromwell*:—

"To his Highness Lord General Cromwell, Lord Protector, &c.

The humble Cautionary Propoſals of John Rogers, Miniſter of the Goſpel according to the Diſpenſation of the Spirit (now) at Thomas Apoſtles, London.

My Lord,

It is the great Jehovah Niſſi, or Lord Protector of his people, who hath awakened me morning by morning, who would not let me reſt day nor night ſince you were proclaimed Lord Protector, until his Spirit had ſet me upon my feet in theſe following propoſals with cautions. Now becauſe none elſe is upon this errand, which is ſo eminently for Chriſt and his intereſt, and ſo many are up and jocund already for the intereſt of Antichriſt, therefore I can find no truce nor peace within me till I become obedient to the Lord God which hath opened mine ear, and I will not rebel. Therefore have I ſet my face like a flint, for I know that I ſhall not be aſhamed.

1ſt Propoſal. Take heed of Protecting the plantations of Antichriſt or the Towers of Babylon, which muſt fall, and with fury too, upon the heads of their Protectors, as Iſaiah xxxi. 3, 'When the Lord ſhall ſtretch out his hand, both he that helpeth (or is their Protector) and he that is holpen ſhall fall with him.'

2nd Propoſal. Take heed of being guided or governed with the old State principles of carnal policy, for Antichriſt works now more in a myſtery of iniquity than ever. And what the Beaſt could not do with his horns here in England (by cruel puſhing) which we hope are off, yet he hopes to do it with his heads (by cunning plotting) which we fear are on. This principle of policy was fatal to *Jehu*, *Ahithophel's* counſel came to nothing, and *Antiochus* could not Protect himſelf.

3rd Propoſal. Take heed of carnal counſellors, I mean ſuch men as ſeek themſelves more than Chriſt. *Darius* had ſuch counſellors, who flattered him to his face (Dan. vi. 6, 7); but they were enemies to *Daniel*, the true prophet (who had an excellent ſpirit). Therefore, my lord, let them give you counſel that are converſant with the ſecrets of God and the viſions of theſe days. *Belſhazzar* did ſend for *Daniel* to open the viſion to him that concerned him, ſo when you find, my Lord, all the wiſe men of the world to fail you in the viſions of theſe times and ſeaſons by their liberal arts and ſciences, philoſophical notions or rules, then ſend for the *Daniels* (of an excellent ſpirit) to confer with upon the prophecies. Beſides, my Lord, it concerns you, you will find ſome day, to have a high eſteem of thoſe moſt honourable members of the laſt Parliament that proved faithful to Chriſt againſt Antichriſt and his cauſe.

4th Propoſal. Take heed of meddling with the Protection of men's carnal, cruel, heatheniſh laws, guilty of tyranny, oppreſſions, perjury, cheating, injuſtice, perſecution, and much innocent blood, and moſt of them contrary to the laws of God, whoſe laws are to be reſtored and made republic law in theſe latter days, as Iſaiah xlii. 21, 22, 'for his righteouſneſs' ſake he will magnify the law, and make it honourable.' His are the beſt in all caſes that ever were made, which muſt be known to all, (Deut. xxx. 10, 16).

5th Propoſal. Take heed of Protecting the carnal,*

* "There was a paper delivered to his highneſs from one *Mr. Rogers*. The perſons and titles of orthodox divines do ſeem to be much diſpleaſing to him. I ſhall here give it to the diſcreet reader for novelty's ſake:—'Take heed of protecting the carnal, national, antichriſtian clergy,'" &c.—From the *Weekly Intelligencer*, Dec. 27 to Jan. 3, 1653—4.

This paragraph ſeems to have been inſerted in the newſpapers for the ſake of ſecuring the ſympathies of the orthodox, i. e. the Preſbyterian Divines againſt *Rogers* and his party. The firſt four "propoſals" are ſuppreſſed, while the fifth is copied at full length.

national, Antichriſtian Clergy, though they come in the name of orthodox or learned. . . . . So *Ahab* (a notable politician) did Protect his national Clergy, or Prophets (who were his not the Lord's), and by their ſuggeſtion hated and perſecuted the true Prophet *Micaiah*, which proved his ruin.

Make haſte, my Lord, for Chriſt's Protection againſt the plagues that are (as ſure as God is righteous) coming upon Babylon, and all that will cleave to her in intereſt. *Luther* was not too bold, in the name of the Lord, to tell his Lord Protector, the *Elector of Saxony*, 'Judico Celſitud. Veſtr. plus a me præſidii et tutelæ habituram eſſe quam mihi præſtare. Huic cauſæ nullus gladius conſulere aut opem ferre poſſe'—that by his prayers he had gained him more ſafety and Protection than he had received from him; and that the cauſe of Chriſt needed not his Protection, but he needed that's Protection. And 'Sive id credat C. V. ſive non credat,' (ſays he), whether you believe it or no, yet this way I will undertake to ſecure and Protect your Highneſſes ſoul, body, eſtate, and all, (viz. by faith and prayer), if you engage freely in the cauſe of Chriſt againſt Antichriſt. So ſay I, my Lord, in that name which ſent me, which fills me with courage and confidence, that if you will freely oblige for Chriſt and his intereſt, the faith and prayers of the ſaints, which were never higher than now, ſhall Protect you ſufficiently in all emergencies; but if you will engage for Antichriſt and his intereſts, the loud-crying faith and inceſſant high-ſpirited prayers of the ſaints will all engage againſt you, and never give Jehovah-Niſſi, the Lord our Protector reſt, till the excellency of *Jacob* have prevailed. (2 Chron. xix. 6). 'Take heed what you do.'

Thus the Lord hath ſtirred me up by an irreſiſtible and reſtleſs power (once more) to lay his work before you, for that he hath uſed you as a moſt glorious inſtrument in the three nations (by the faith and prayers of this people),

to make way for this work, which if you reject will reject you, and be the infallible forerunner of your fall; which that God may prevent is the fervent prayers of the faithful people night and day, whose souls mourn in secret for you, whose hearts ache and bleed abundantly on your behalf, as for a man most dear in their souls, but under most desperate temptations and dangers. I have freely exposed myself, in this my Master's service, by whose Spirit I am, I hope, full of power, to all the sharp censures, reproaches, revilings, and hard measures that I can meet with from men or devils, choosing rather to have my peace within me than without me. 'Ruere cum Christo quam regnare cum Cæsare.' It may be men will judge me proud or self-seeking, as they thought of *Luther*. . . But in these proposals, I am sure I have kept my sphere, and followed the strong impulse of God's own Spirit in me and many others, however it be taken. Wherefore, the great God awaken you to his work; else the time will come when God will say, 'Let him alone, he is joined to idols.' (Hos. iv. 17).

Now, that the hand of the Lord may be with you, see what these five fingers point at to you, which, if you practise, will be able to Protect you as well as direct you in this dreadful day of the Lord's Controversy for Sion. They concern you, my Lord, more than *Cæsar's* paper did him. Now, that they may not prove a handwriting against you and a cup of trembling put into your hands, they are strengthened with a divine generosity, and shall struggle with you in the faith, tears, and prayers of many who pray and mourn for you, and amongst others

Your afflicted, faithful servant,
For the interest of my Lord Jesus,
JOHN ROGERS.

From my Study, the 21st day of Tebeth,
or the 10th month."

Rogers was probably as active in preaching as in writing; for it appears that on Monday, the 9th of January, 1654, about three weeks after the date of his Cautionary letter, he and *Vavasor Powell* preached so violently against the Government in their church in Newgate market, that *William Erberry*, another Independent Minister, was constrained in conscience to remonstrate.* It appears, from the letter *Erberry* published, that *Rogers* chose for his text Jerem. xlii. 20—"For ye dissembled in your hearts when ye sent me unto the Lord your God, saying, Pray for us," &c. "This he [*Rogers*] interpreted as the dissembling of some in power to ask the prayers of the Prophets and people of God in their troubles, who now act contrary to their own professed purposes of no personal rule." It is difficult to suppose that he would have allowed his congregation to overlook the two verses which immediately follow that from which he took his text—"And now I have this day declared it to you; but ye have not obeyed the voice of the Lord your God, nor anything for the which he hath sent me unto you. Now therefore know certainly that ye shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, in the place whither ye desire to go and to sojourn."

Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, iv. 34.

On the 23rd of January, 1654, a fortnight after the date of this sermon, *Cromwell* and his Council published an ordinance declaring what offences should be accounted treason. These were—"to compass or imagine the death of the Lord Protector; to raise forces against the present Government; to deny that the Protector and the people assembled in Parliament are the supreme authority of the nation, or that the exercise of the chief magistracy is centred in him; or to affirm that the Government is tyrannical, usurped, or illegal, or that there is any Parliament now in being; also the proclaiming or in anywise promoting any of the posterity of the late King to be King or Chief Magistrate." All such ordinances issued by the Protector and Council had the force of law.

Notwithstanding its last clause, this ordinance was considered by the Fifth-Monarchy-Men to be levelled directly at them; and their anger was further inflamed when *Feake* and *Simpson* were

* "An Olive Leaf; or, some Peaceable Considerations to the Christian Meeting at Christ Church in London, Monday, Jan. 9, 1654. By *William Erberry*."

arreſted under its authority, on Jan. 26, and ſent to Windſor Caſtle a few days later. Whitelock, p. 580.

But in truth it was high time for the Protector to take precautions for the ſecurity of his perſon and government. At that moment plots were being hatched by the Royaliſts and Fifth-Monarchy-Men againſt both; and ſuch plots were a ſource of continual uneaſineſs to *Cromwell* and his family for the reſt of his life.

The following is one of the many informations received by *Thurloe*, who had the management of this department:—

"A LETTER OF ELLEN ASKE.

MR. R. NELSON,—

May it pleaſe your worſhipe to acquaint his highnes . . . . that I am able to diſcover many of my lords deedly and deſtructive enemyes, and thoſe that latly upon a faſt day in London did gather together in a place that I can diſcover, becauſe then there preſent, and did there moſt ſtrangly rayle againſt his highnes and ſaid the plage of God confound him, calling him 'round-heded doge, I would I had his fleſh between my teeth,' and much more as bade; . . . . and one of them ſaid 'now he is gone to pray let us go charge and bind him.'

Furder I have harde of a ſecrett plot of many who reſolve to have a runing army againt my lord his highnes for blood, and have as I underſtand horſes bought redy for that purpoſe, and my frinde . . . *Iſaac Wellis* doath know the man which I conſave can deſcover very much of this great plott which doath, I feare, drawe nere to be executed by a people called a 5th monirchy peopll; and that there is a gentillwoman who did tell me that that work would not be accompliſhed until ſhe went, for ſhe ſhould be one of them that ſhould pull him down or help down with him, was the word ſaid. Whereas I am afraid to ſpeak with any but my Lord or your worſhipp; the reſon of it is, becauſe there are

in my Lords houſe or thereunto belonging them that doe declare to *Mr. Rodgeres*, and ſo to *Mr. Pheake* and oatheres, what allmoſt ſoever is ſpoken in my Lord's one houſe. I being not long ſince a herer of *John Rodgeres*, did underſtand much, and had almoſt been deſtroyed or ſwalowed up with deluſions that my Lord was not a man that ſtood for truth and peace. So with my humble ſarvice preſente to you, ... I reſt your Sarvant,

ELLEN ASKE."

"THE EXAMINATION OF ELLEN ASKE.

That *Mr. Rogers* told her that one *Rachel* or *Abigal* —— that lives about the Tower is very intimate with a gentleman that waits conſtantly on his Highneſs, and uſually at his elbow when he is in his chair at dinner, that publiſhes all he hears or knows to be done in his Highneſs's family to the ſaid *Rachel* or *Abigal*.

That *Mr. Aſke*, now in the 'Elizabeth' of London, at Graveſend, ... hath a liſt of the names of all thoſe that ſubſcribed for the raiſing of horſe againſt his Highneſs and this preſent Government.

The ſaid *Mr. Aſke* only named *Major-General Harriſon*, *Rogers*, *Feake*, and one that was a commander in ſome great place, that ſhould have been the Commander-in-Chief; but he could not remember his name. . . . . Many other particulars ſhe told me, of horſes that were bought for that purpoſe, and to be lodged in the town, to be put in execution by way of ſurpriſe. . . . .

This examination was taken Feb. 17, 1654, by me,

RO. NELSON."

Thurloe, iii. 160.

In conſequence, probably, of this information, the "powers" cauſed *Rogers'* houſe to be ſearched, and his papers ſeized, which elicited his fifth and laſt letter to *Cromwell*.

Mene, Tekel, Perez,

OR,

A little Appearance of the

HAND-WRITING

(In a Glance of Light)

Againſt the Powers and Apoſtates of the

TIMES.

By a Letter written to, and lamenting over

Oliver Lord *Cromwel.*

BY JOHN ROGERS.

In this woful Howre of his Temptation, and of Sion's ſore pangs, and *Solemne* Appeals; and of the precious *Saints* impriſonments and perſecution for *this* moſt *Glorious*, betrayed, denyed, and crucified *Cauſe* of *Chriſt Jeſus*

KING OF SAINTS AND NATIONS.

There ſin is written with a Pen of Iron, and the point of a Diamond (ungue adamantino עפרן) *whiles there Children remember their Altars and Groves again.* Jer. 17. 15.

Why do ye perſecute me, as God? and are not ſatisfied with my fleſh? oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a Book! that they were graven with an iron pen in the Rock for ever! For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he ſhall ſtand in the Latter end upon the EARTH, &c. Job 19. 22, 23, 24, 25, *&c.*

Heu pietas! ubi priſca? profana o tempora! Mundi!
Fax! Veſper! prope Nox! O Mora! Chriſte Veni!
Sinite Virgam Corripientem ne ſentiatis Malleum Conterentem. Bern.

"A WORD BY THE WAY TO THE READER.

Since the time that I was lately ſo illegally and arbitrarily plundered without any cauſe ſhown or known by this unrighteous ſelf-created powers that is got uppermoſt, I have with the words of Jeremy (ch. xx. 8, 9) 'cried out violence and ſpoil! becauſe the word of the Lord is made a reproach and deriſion daily. Then I ſaid, I will not make mention nor ſpeak any more in His name. But His word was in my heart as a burning fire ſhut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not ſtay,' but conſtrained in ſpirit wrote this letter. Yet ſeeing by ſeveral meſſengers I have aſſayed, and that ſeveral days together to get it delivered, and finding it ſo difficult that it is doubtful whether it be ſafely conveyed to him or no, you find it printed as the moſt probable means of having it preſented to his eye, for that many flatterers are ready to run with the news to their maſter (as v. 10). 'Report, ſay they, and we will report it. All my familiars watched for my halting, ſaying peradventure he will be enticed, and we ſhall prevail againſt him, and take our revenge on him.' Well, if they do ſo, we come, Croſs of Chriſt, for my next petition to 'Thy Kingdom come' is 'Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.' Yet who knows but this weak word may awaken him a little. . . . . But whether this do or not, my conſcience is now ſo well ſatisfied, my heart refreſhed, and my ſpirit ſo warmed in the ſtrength of our dear (deſpiſed) Chriſt, that I hope to go on with Jer. xx. 11: 'For the Lord is with me who is the terrible one, therefore my perſecutors ſhall ſtumble, they ſhall not prevail, but they ſhall be greatly aſhamed, for they ſhall not proſper (long), and their everlaſting confuſion

ſhall never be forgotten.' This is the victorious, overturning,* already triumphing faith of hundreds (bleſſed be Jehovah) beſides

JOHN ROGERS."

"MY LORD,—

While the ſouls of many of the Lord's dear ſervants (who ſit weeping over you) are in travail and ſtruggle for you in the hour of temptation, I moſt humbly beg, as upon my knees, for your own ſoul and family, and for the poor afflicted ſaints' ſake, that you will but weigh theſe few lines of our preſent lamentation in the balance of your heart and conſcience, one part of an hour which you may beſt ſpare and be moſt ſerious in, which, if the Lord whom I ſerve require it, I think I could as freely write with my own blood as with ink, in tears and gall of grief. O, our bowels! our bowels! Our hearts ache and are pained within us to hear the doleful groans, and crys, tears, prayers, and ſolemn appeals of godly people in the nation round about to the Righteous Judge of the whole earth, which doubtleſs will be anſwered with a dreadful diſpenſation and ſevere decree upon thoſe that be found the enemies to the Lord Jeſus and his exaltation. The apprehenſion whereof hath ſo ſeized upon my ſpirit that I ſhould ſin if ſome way or other I gave you no notice thereof, for that your own perſon is (yet) ſo dear in our very ſouls that bowels of affection are frequently ſeen to you in mourning,

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* See Oliver Cromwell's Speech to Parliament, Sept. 4, 1654. He ſays, in alluſion to the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, "Whilſt theſe things were in the midſt of us, and the nation rent and torn from one end to the other, family againſt family, parent againſt child, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but 'Overturn, Overturn, Overturn,' a Scripture very much abuſed and challenged by all men of diſcontented ſpirits."—*Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 599.

praying, and wreſtling for you (if poſſible) to recover you out of thoſe bottomleſs ſnares wherein you are ſo deeply enſnared by the evil counſel of paraſites, ſubtle and ſelf-ſeeking flatterers, Dawbers and Deceivers, who have not that lively ſenſe to the Lord Jeſus, His poor ſaints, and intereſt, nor yet to your ſoul (ſo deſperately engaged, we humbly conceive) as we who are counted enemies for the truth's ſake, as the Lord will witneſs, have, of whom, as Philip. iii. 18, 19: 'I have told you often, and now tell you again, even weeping, that they are the enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt, whoſe end is deſtruction, whoſe god is their belly, and whoſe glory is in their ſhame, who mind earthly things.' Jer. ix. 1, 2: 'Oh, that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the ſlain of the daughter of my people, and go from them, for they be all adulterers, an aſſembly of treacherous men.' I cannot ſpeak with you in perſon, therefore I beſeech you, read theſe words, which our tears and prayers are the ambaſſadors and forerunners of, 'mittamus preces et lacrymas cordis legatos' (Cyprian), for that we have not the leaſt grain of ill-will, hatred, or malice (as ſome ſuggeſt and ſay) againſt any perſon, but only againſt the ſin and evil of this change of government, which God will (and if righteous, we are ſure muſt) judge, and then, as once you ſaid in your letter to the Kirk of Scotland, 'God, who knoweth us, will in His due time manifeſt whether we do multiply theſe things as men, or do we them for the Lord Chriſt, and his poor people's ſake.' Wherefore,

Your own declarations.

Firſt, be pleaſed, we beſeech you with weeping tears, to compare a little preſent tranſactions with former engagements, and with the Army's declarations, &c. as that of June 14, 1647, page 6, declaring that you took up arms in judgment and conſcience for the people's juſt rights and liberties, and reſolved to aſſert and vindicate them againſt all arbitrary power, violence, and oppoſition, and againſt

all particular parties and intereſts whatſoever, ſo page 7, that it is no reſiſting of magiſtracy to ſide with juſt principles. . . . So page 9—that 'we are ſo far from deſigning and complying to have an abſolute arbitrary power ſigned or ſettled for continuance in any *PERSONS WHATSOEVER*, as that if we might be ſure to obtain it, we cannot wiſh to have it ſo in the perſons of any whom we ourſelves could moſt confide in, or who ſhould appear moſt of our principles and opinions.' . . . .

Againſt abſolute government in one perſon.

Secondly. Be pleaſed, my Lord, a little to reviſe or reaſon with the riſe of this change upon the breaking up of the late Parliament, taking its being but for this end, to keep up the carnal intereſts the Parliament had voted down, viz. of clergy, carnal church-ſtate, tithes, preſentations, &c. . . Now, for the Parliament to do that which the army and good people round the nation have declared to be their duty, viz. to take off the civil dependence of the national clergy with their national Church-State, and to vote a new model of the law, viz. leſs intricate, uncertain, tyrannical, and unjuſt, and more conſonant with God's word and ſtatutes, and judgments, and right reaſon, and more plain, eaſy, and clear; and to take away corrupt and ſimonious preſentations, whereby ſouls and people are bought and ſold to great men's luſts; for this, formerly judged to be their duty, to be diſſolved and broken, yea, at that time, too, when this longed-for mercy after many years was brought to the birth . . yea, and after the long-ſitting Parliament was broken, too, for their neglect of theſe very things (with others), ſeems ſtrange to us, and the more diſſatisfies us for that we ſee this power ſucceed for the ſupport and upholding of thoſe things which that Parliament had voted down, and what the army and good people had ſo often declared props of Antichriſt. . . . .

The riſe of this G. upon the ruin of the laſt Parliament.

Rev. xviii. 13, being merchandize of Babylon.

O, my Lord, that the opening and bleeding of our

bowels for theſe things might be a little regarded and pitied.

The already effects and fruits of this change moſt grievous to the faithful and godly.

Thirdly. May you be (moſt humbly, and as upon our bended knees) entreated to take a little account of the already fruits and effects of this alteration, (which the Lord knows we bitterly bewail before the great God as more heavy to us than the precedent changes) in ſhutting up the doors of our public meeting-places, hindering us in God's worſhip, impriſoning our dear brothers and friends, plundering, reproaching, and grieving them, (and them only) that have been all theſe wars, and yet are (and we hope ever will be) faithful to the Cauſe and Kingdom of Chriſt, threatening to take away their lives, and endeavouring to ſtone and ſtab them, aſperſing them with moſt palpable, loathſome, and notorious falſities, to poſſeſs good people in the counties with prejudice againſt them, as if they were againſt all Magiſtracy, Miniſtry, and Property, which with a wonderful and wicked confidence ſome write and ſpread about (the Lord lay it ſeriouſly to their hearts and humble them for it) but we cannot be ſuffered to print the truth or to anſwer their cruel calumnies or accuſations, whilſt we deſire no other weapons (the Lord knoweth) for our warfare but the word of truth, which ſhall be our defence; yet we are not ſuffered to print, but are plundered of our notes and writings, while all manner of lies, ſlanders, and malicious reports are printed and divulged of us. . . . .

How alike this G. is to it which God hath thrown down before our eyes.

Laſtly, my Lord, may you be pleaſed but to ſee a little in the midſt of our trouble and agony how like this preſent government looks to that which the Lord (by the faith and prayers of his deſpiſed people) hath ſo eminently engaged againſt, laid in duſt, and ſtamped upon with diſdain.

Our weapons of warfare and our adverſaries —what they are.

. . . And muſt we not pray that you may be freed from ſuch as have ſubtlely enſnared you, and do, prelate-like, poſſeſs you and others againſt us that we are fanatic mad-men, fools, and heady enemies to Magiſtracy, Miniſ-

try, and all, &c. for which our hearts are pained within us, whiles we ponder theſe things and our ſpirits grieved that men of ſo much former merit and eminency ſhould ſo ſinfully and unchriſtianlike condemn and accuſe us of things our hearts abhor and loathe within us, and call for ſeverity under the name of juſtice, and dealeth perſecution againſt us in the matters of our faith and conſcience, merely and alone for the exalting Jeſus Chriſt. . . . . .

But, my Lord, may the preſented truth (or poor crucified Jeſus) beg this favour, to give it as much favour as His adverſaries have for their groſs lies or falſities in printing or otherwiſe, therefore will you be pleaſed (though but for a little time, a month or two) to releaſe thoſe laws which hinder the publiſhing of the truth. Let our brethren or any that will oppoſe us, convince or conquer all they can with the good word of God, and we ſhall be ſatisfied to try it out with them ſo, but not with the weapons of the world, as they have them (now) all on their ſide, to impriſon, perſecute, or put to death, for that is Antichriſt's not Chriſt's way of warfare. . . Therefore, as *Luther* wrote to the *Dukes of Saxony*, ſo do we humbly to you, my Lord. 'I would not,' ſaith he, 'but all have free liberty, yet if any tranſgreſs Goſpel bounds, and would raiſe up ſeditions or wars againſt you, then you may repreſs them.' . . So, my Lord, if we ſtir up people to riſings, tumults, or carnal warfare, as men falſely charge us, then puniſh us as you pleaſe, for it is contrary to our principles ſo to do.

Furthermore, O that you would not believe every report of the Boutefeus or Fireblowers of theſe our new troubles againſt us. . . . Will you be pleaſed to peruſe a little thoſe writings taken out of my ſtudy, and ſatisfy yourſelf concerning the truth of them, and not believe thoſe bits and parts which ſome ſycophants probably will acquaint you with. . . . .

But if we have no hopes left to prevail with you, yet

our hearts are filled with hope, and ſure we are to prevail with God. Our appeal is in heaven, and the faith and prayer which are up (as high as ever ſince the world ſtood) either will bring forth your converſion (for *Luther* ſaith the Church converts 'totum mundum ſanguine et oratione') or your confuſion. For the death and deſtruction of the perſecutors was, as it was ſaid of the death of *Arius*, 'precationis opus non morbi.'

But if it be aſked what we would have you to do, our preſent anſwer is—

What to be done in order to return.

Firſt, adviſe with the Lord about your former declarations. . . . .

2. And then proclaim a faſt, a ſolemn day of humiliation for the errors and ſins paſt, as 1 Kings xxi. 27-29—'It came to paſs when *Ahab* heard thoſe words he rent his clothes and faſted, and lay in ſackcloth, &c. And the Lord ſaid, Seeſt thou how *Ahab* humbleth himſelf before me. Becauſe he humbleth himſelf before me I will not bring the evil in his days.' . . . . Let out the Lord's priſoners whom the Churches are robbed of, viz. *Mr. Feak* and *Mr. Simpſon*. And that they may open to you the preſent viſion of God given them in theſe things according to the diſpenſation of the Spirit, O, hear them once at leaſt preach to you the power of Jeſus . . . . let them have, though but for a month or two, and though but half ſo much liberty to open the word of the Lord to you as your chaplains have. . . . . But if you will yet go on, 'ad exitium potius quam ad exercitium,' after all our bleeding entreaties, and be hardened up by the dangerous counſel of your own reaſon or them about you, then, my Lord, our ſouls ſhall mourn in ſecret for you as for one deſperately loſt indeed, and we ſhall proceed to bear our teſtimony againſt the ſin of the times, for our appeal hangs in Heaven and we cannot recall it. Yea, as *Luther* once ſaid, 'Quo magis illi furunt eo amplius procedo,' the more men rage

Let out the Lord's priſoners, Mr. Feak, Mr. Simpſon, Han. Taprel in Bridewell.

Our reſolution

the more reſolute we hope to be in our appeals, faith, and prayer. . . . .

So far as I may,
Your true ſincere Servant,
JOHN ROGERS."

On the 20th of March, 1654, two months after the Ordinance of Treaſon, another ordinance was publiſhed, which was ſcarcely leſs offenſive to the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. It was called an ordinance for the "Approbation of Public Preachers," and provided that every perſon who had been admitted to a benefice within the laſt twelve months, or who might thereafter be admitted, ſhould be "judged and approved by the perſons hereafter named to be a perſon for the Grace of God in him, his holy and unblameable converſation, as alſo for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the Goſpel." Such as were approved received from the "Triers," as they were called, an inſtrument in writing, without which no one was to be deemed lawfully poſſeſſed of any living or benefice, and by virtue of which, when obtained, the holder was put in as full poſſeſſion as if he had been admitted by inſtitution and induction. Thirty-ſeven Commiſſioners (or Triers) were named, and the partial and oppreſſive way in which they uſed their power was bitterly complained of both by Royaliſt clergy on the one ſide, and by ſuch men as *Rogers* on the other.

Scobell's Acts and Ordinances, part ii. p. 279.

The authorities do not ſeem to have noticed Mene, Tekel, Perez, or the ſermons which preceded it. To requite their forbearance, *Rogers* held a ſolemn ſervice of humiliation over their ſins, and as a preliminary he publiſhed the grounds on which he acted.

"*The Grounds of Meeting at Tho. Apoſtle's, the 28th day of the firſt Month* [*March*], 1654, *in ſolemn humiliation before the Lord, beginning at* 7 *o'clock in the morning.*

1. The manner of the coming in of the preſent G—— with the ſudden breaking up of the laſt Parliament, for that they would have changed the preſent National Miniſtry, lawyers, preſentations, taxes and oppreſſions, and

for that they would have ruled as Saints—therefore driven out of the houſe.

2. The preſent grand apoſtacy of profeſſors, churches, preachers, and eminent perſons of the nobles of Judah in the Army, city and country, from their former engagements, declarations, profeſſions and promiſes for Chriſt and his kingdom, cauſe and intereſt.

3. The proſecution of the faithful remnant that threatens them, wherein we may ſpread before the Lord thoſe new-made laws of treaſon, &c. which look too much like tyranny, according to which the ſervants of the Lord are impriſoned at Windſor, and others threatened.

4. The manifold tentations abroad, both here and in the country, which are of divers ſorts, as adverſity, impriſonment, loſs of friends, liberties, &c; on the other ſide, offers of places, preferments, honours, &c; and on all ſides the ſpirit of deluſion by falſe deluding pamphlets, arguments, fallacies, and lies, whereby many good people are blinded in city and country.

5. The preſent deadneſs and flatneſs of ſpirit that is upon the little remnant of Saints that are not yet backſliden, as at All-hallows meeting and elſewhere; that thoſe that remain may have a full, free, fit and quickened ſpirit, beyond whatever they yet had, to engage with one heart and mind, by conſtant faith and prayer, in the preſent teſtimony.

6. As to deplore the preſent magiſtracy and miniſtry, and ſuch wicked ones which are heightened in their expectations and exalted into places; ſo alſo to be earneſt for the magiſtracy and miniſtry of the unction according to the promiſe in the latter days, that Chriſt alone may be exalted.

7. To ſpread before the Lord the animoſities, jealouſies, heartburnings and diviſions, that are amongſt the Saints and Churches, about forms, opinions, or points of judg-

ment, and that the Lord would make an union in the Spirit.

8. On theſe and divers other grounds which we might mention, as hypocriſy, pride, and oppreſſion; to mourn alſo for the preſent unſeaſonable weather and drought, which threatens famine and mortality, that the Lord would remove cauſes that the effects might ceaſe."

Thurloe, ii. 196.

It was very uſual in thoſe days for the more zealous members of the congregation to take ſhort-hand notes of their miniſter's ſermons. This cuſtom enabled *Thurloe's* ſpies to provide themſelves, in the ſame way, with the following abſtract of the ſermon which *Rogers* delivered on this occaſion.

"INFORMATION AGAINST MR. ROGERS.

*May** 28, *at Thomas Apoſtles;* in his prayer theſe and ſuch like paſſages. Haſten the time when all abſolute power ſhall be devolved into the hand of Chriſt, when we ſhall have no Lord Protector but our Lord Jeſus, the only true Protector and Defender of the Faith. Let our faith have ſo much of the grain of muſtard ſeed as to ſay to that great mountain, 'Be removed,' and it ſhall be removed.

Look in mercy upon thy ſaints at Windſor, that are impriſoned for the truth and teſtimony of Jeſus; be thou their freedom and enlargement, &c. Remember thy handmaid,† who is brought to town, and threatened by the worldly powers, who crucify Chriſt Jeſus in the ſpirit every day. Hear the blaſphemies of the Court, and regard their ridiculous pomp and vanity. And now Chriſt Jeſus is proclaimed King, pour forth thy vials on the worldly powers, the powers of Antichriſt.

* The date "May 28" in Thurloe is probably a miſprint for "March 28."

† Probably Hannah Taprell.

Then he bleſſed God, that had yet reſerved himſelf a remnant, who had not bowed their knees to *Baal.*

He named his text out of the 5th chapter of the letter of Matthew, 25th verſe — 'Agree with thine adverſary quickly.' By the adverſary, he ſaid, was meant Chriſt, whom the apoſtate profeſſors and wicked ones of this world had made their adverſary; and ſo made this his doctrine. 'Tis the concernment of all adulterous, apoſtate profeſſors to make a ſpeedy agreement with their adverſary. And becauſe the kingly office of Chriſt was at this preſent time moſt eminently oppoſed, he would ſpeak to the preſent powers, who are the oppoſers of it in their Government, in their prieſthood, in their armies.

The apoſtate profeſſors of this age have openly broken all God's commandments, as I ſhall ſhow in their order.

1. To the firſt. 'I am the Lord thy God, that brought thee out of Egypt; thou ſhalt have no other God but me.' But, as Iſrael of old made themſelves calves, and ſaid, 'Lo theſe are our Gods, which brought us out of Egypt,' ſo the men of this generation ſay, Lo this, and lo that; lo our ſtrength and lo our armies have brought us out of bondage from under monarchical government, &c.

2. 'Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image.' But the preſent powers have ſet up graven images, that is to ſay, the works of men's imaginations. They have lately ſet up Triers at Whitehall—a new ſet of doctors, worſhippers of the inventions of man; a new commiſſion-court to give out tickets and ſeals, and inſtruments and picklocks to open houſes and pulpits, and pig-ſties and hen-rooſts, to fetch thence eggs and geeſe, and pigs and tithes—a moſt ſottiſh and ridiculous foppery, nay, mere idolatry. 'Tis an horrible ſin in any to own them or receive commiſſion from them. The laſt Parliament would have proved a reformer and have pulled down this image, but that the powers of this world interpoſed. And I believe

one day they muſt give a ſad account for it. If any have received ſuch commiſſion from them, let them return it, and quickly agree with the adverſary.

3. 'Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.' But the men in preſent power have eminently taken God's name in vain, by applying his attributes to ſiniſter ends. Their pretenſions were for the honour of God, for the intereſt of Chriſt—what more frequent in their mouths? Well! God took them at their words, gave them many a victory in truſt, to ſee what they would do with it after ſo many promiſes and pretences. But at laſt, what God gave them only in truſt, for the advancement of his glory, they have purloined and abuſed to the advancement of themſelves, breaking all oaths, promiſes, covenants, engagements, declarations. When they go to fight another battle, they cannot give that for a word any more, 'No King but Jeſus'—a word which won them more than their ſwords. No, they have ſet up now a King of their own.

4. 'Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath.' They are guilty of the breach of this commandment who do their own works. Thoſe who have no ſoul-reſt cannot keep a Sabbath. Such are they that gape after court honour, privileges, preferments, advantages.

5. 'Honour thy father and mother.' To obey the world before God makes us guilty of this commandment. God will ſay to the men of this generation, 'Go to your Governour, go to your Protector.' 'If I be a father, where is my honour?'

6. 'Thou ſhalt do no murder.' There is a heart murder; thoſe that hate the ſpirit in the ſaints are murderers. Thoſe who have it in their intent and deſire to murder the ſaints, though for ſome reſpects of their own they refrain from the outward act, they are murderers before God. Some in the preſent power are guilty of this

murderous intent. Before, nothing but the laws of Chriſt and the intereſt of Chriſt; but now 'tis a particular and perſonal intereſt, the intereſt of a man, the cauſe of a man. Thoſe who were ſlain for the cauſe of Chriſt their blood cries aloud 'let Chriſt reign;' but thoſe who ſay, 'let us reign,' make themſelves guilty of that blood, and ſo are murderers.

Then he converted his diſcourſe againſt ſpies and tale-bearers, recounting out of the Book of Martyrs and other ſtories God's remarkable judgments againſt them.

7. 'Thou ſhalt not commit adultery.' There is a heart adultery, as Chriſt alſo expounds it. He that looks upon pleaſures and honours and profits, and luſts after them, this luſt of the heart is adultery. The preſent powers have committed adultery with all intereſts, with the cavalier party, with the army, with the clergy.

8. 'Thou ſhalt not ſteal.' They are thieves and robbers which take away violently that which is not their right, that which does not belong to them. We have great thieves and rich thieves, army thieves and clergy thieves. A poor pirate was brought before *Alexander the Great* for robbing; and being demanded the reaſon, the pirate anſwered him, 'This is the ſole difference 'twixt you and me; you are the great thief, and I am but the little one.' 'Do violence to no man,' ſaid *John the Baptiſt* to the ſoldiers; but our ſoldiers do violence to all men. What right have thoſe men in the throne to it? The Cavalier party will ſay *Charles Stewart* has a right; but I ſay there's no man breathing has more right to it than the meaneſt child that walks the ſtreets. The kingdom is the Lord's and his Chriſt's. They which detain what they have unjuſtly taken are thieves. Why do they not make reſtitution of their ſtolen powers, their ſtolen thrones and dignities, reſtore them to the ſaints whom they deſpiſed and caſt out, under the name of Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

They that make unlawful haſte to be rich are thieves and robbers. (Then he directed his ſpeech to my Lord Protector.) Certainly he is in a deſperate condition. No wonder we hear ſo much of plots—two or three already; though, for my part, 'tis the deſire of my ſoul that he may not be taken off by any of them, but rather that he may repent, and God recover him again to himſelf. Becauſe he hath oppreſſed and forſaken the poor, becauſe he hath violently taken away a houſe which he builded not, ſurely he ſhall not feel quietneſs in his belly, he ſhall not ſave of that which he deſired (Job xx. 19). Oh, thou black Whitehall! thou black Whitehall!—fah! fah! it ſtinks of the brimſtone of Sodom and the ſmoke of the bottomleſs pit! The flying roll of God's curſes ſhall overtake the family of that great thief there—he that robbed us of the benefit of our prayers, of our tears, of our blood; the blood of my poor huſband will the widow ſay, the blood of my poor father will the orphan ſay, the blood of my dear friend will many ſay. Theſe ſhed their blood for the cauſe of Jeſus Chriſt and for the intereſt of his kingdom; but that which they purchaſed at ſo dear a rate is taken from us by violence; we are robbed of it, and the cauſe of Chriſt is made the cauſe of a man.

He would have proceeded to the two other commandments, but that time prevented him.

At the concluſion of his diſcourſe he produced a letter from *Mr. Feake* at Windſor, giving a large account of what betided him there; how he had preached to ſome ſoldiers of the guard, and that they were much affected with what he ſpake; how he was remanded to his chamber by the governor, and a long dialogue betwixt them on that occaſion. All which he diſtinctly read to the people, being a very numerous aſſembly. And thus cloſed all,—In ſum, my dear friends, you may ſhortly expect a new book of Martyrs. The ſaints are worſe dealt with by the powers

of this age than they were by the heathens of old. *Paul* was ſuffered to preach at Rome, but they now are forbid to preach the Goſpel.

Afterwards a hymn was ſet, compoſed for the occaſion, which the people ſung very affectionately. It began thus—'Come, glorious King of Sion, come to defend thy cauſe againſt all earthly powers, and to work deliverance for thy captives,' and much to that purpoſe."

Thurloe, iii. 483.

This information was preſerved and was afterwards produced, but it was not inſtantly acted upon. *Rogers* remained at large until July. The following extracts from the Order Book of the Council of State, and from the London newſpapers, will explain what happened next.

"Council of State, *July* 25, 1654.

His Highneſs preſent.

Mr. Laurence, L.d Preſident. Maj. Gen. Lambert, L.d Viſc. Liſle, Col. Fiennes, Mr. Rous, Gen. Diſbrowe, Col. Mackworth, Col. Montague, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Col. Sydenham, Col. Jones, Major-Gen. Shippon, Mr. Major, Mr. Strickland, Sir Charles Wolſeley.

Appr. in pſon.

Ordered—That *Hannah Taprell*, formerly committed to Bridewell, be ſet at liberty, and that a warrant to the Maſter of Bridewell be in that behalf iſſued.

Appr. in pſon.

That *Mr. John Rogers* be ſent for in ſafe cuſtody, to anſwer ſuch matters as ſhall be objected againſt him, and that a warrant to the Serjeant-at-Arms be in that behalf iſſued.

Entry or Fair Order Book of the Council of State, No. 103, in the Public Record Office.

That *Col. Jones*, *Col. Sydenham*, *Col. Mackworth*, *Mr. Rous*, *Sir Charles Wolſeley*, or any two of them, be a committee to examine *Mr. Rogers* and the matters charged on him, he being ordered this day to be ſent for in cuſtody."

"*July* 27, 1654.

Mr. John Rogers, of Thomas Apoſtle's, London, was this day apprehended by a meſſenger, touching ſome things by him preached and written againſt the preſent power. He was before a committee of the Council, and remains in the cuſtody of a meſſenger, but did much deſire to have been in priſon."

Several Proceedings in State Affairs, No. 253.

"*Auguſt* 10, 1654.

Mr. John Rogers, priſoner at Lambeth, preacheth daily to people that come to viſit him, whither many do reſort. But *Mr. John Simſon*, who now owns and prays for the preſent powers, hath been there with him."

Several Proceedings in State Affairs, No. 255.

The following letter (from *Thurloe*, iii. 485), has neither date nor ſignature. It was probably written at this time by *Serjeant Dendy*,* who was Serjeant-at-Arms to the Council of State, and was reſponſible for the cuſtody of his kinſman *Rogers* in Lambeth Palace.†

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* Serjeant Dendy, earlier in life, executed warrants for the Star Chamber. In 1637, with a warrant from Archbiſhop Laud, he broke open Mr. Burton's houſe at midnight and arreſted him, for which he was cenſured by Parliament in 1640. In January, 1649, he was appointed Serjeant-at-Arms to the High Court of Juſtice, which condemned Charles I. In this capacity he proclaimed the Court in Weſtminſter Hall, and took charge of the King as a priſoner at the bar. On January 29, after ſentence had been paſſed, it was ordered "that the officer of the Ordnance at the Tower of London, in whoſe hands or cuſtody the bright execution axe for the executing malefactors is, do forthwith deliver the ſame unto Edward Dendy, Eſq., Serjeant-at-Arms attending the Court, or his deputies."

† Moſt of the Biſhops' palaces and houſes in and near London were converted into priſons in 1642-3.—*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i. 57.

"A LETTER TO THE PROTECTOR CONCERNING MR. ROGERS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—

Having for theſe five or ſix years had more opportunities to read *Mr. Rogers* than many others, I humbly conceive it not altogether improper (eſpecially at this time) to give your Highneſs as true a character of him as his actings and my ſlender obſervations thereupon hath led me to. . . Now, that your Highneſs may know *Mr. Rogers* of Thomas Apoſtle's from that man which he deſcribes and would have others to think him to be, by his book called a 'Tabernacle,' I ſhall, in as few words as I can, diſcover more of the man than the Chriſtian in him; that ſo your Highneſs may in ſome meaſure diſcern him from ſome others, and that before the change of Government, againſt which *Mr. Rogers*, with a pretended zeal of God, hath ſo furiouſly appeared.

About ſix years ſince *Mr. Rogers* married *Sir Robert Paine's* daughter, late of Huntingdonſhire, who was the relict of *Mr. Smyth*, of St. Neot's, where for ſome time he taught ſchool, and from whence by Providence he was called to a living at Purleigh in Eſſex, worth, as I have been informed, above £200 per annum, where the people, as in many other places, being but children in underſtanding, and ſuch as, I have heard him ſay, did not know how to value men for their abilities, the ſaid *Mr. Rogers*—I fear overprizing his gifts, did thereupon turn non-reſident; and, hiring another to ſupply his place at Purleigh, he came to London; and endeavouring to get a lecture, which in ſhort time he obtained at Thos. Apoſtle's. Thus neglecting his charge at Purleigh, about 33 miles off London, it pleaſed God to ſtir up the patron and pariſh againſt him, ſo that he was ejected thence.

Mr. Rogers, hereat being exceedingly troubled, petitioned the Lords Commiſſioners for a reſtoration, from whom not obtaining his deſires, and meeting therein with oppoſition from *Serjeant Maynard*, he thereupon, as incenſed againſt lawyers, writ a pamphlet; and how he vented his ſpirit in that quarrel I preſume your Highneſs is not only a ſtranger to.

After the loſs of Purleigh, *Mr. Rogers* ſolicits hard for the rectory of Martin's, and to that end endeavours the removing of one *Mr. Sangor*, a godly man; and being aſked why he would do ſo, he replied that *Mr. Sangor* had a living of £100 a year in the country—forgetting that it was lately his own caſe in Purleigh, when yet he had a lecture in London and lived there. But, not ſeeking a way of God, his endeavours here alſo proved abortive.

Whereupon *Mr. Rogers* puts forth a book called 'A Tabernacle for the Sun,' and according to the dedication of it preſents one to your Highneſs, not doubting but that this book would have attracted your Highneſs' eſpecial favour to him; but the Lord, who weighs the ſpirits and ponders all men's goings, did, for ought I know, cauſe your Highneſs to ſee more of *Mr. Rogers* than he could of himſelf. Whether a diſappointment herein hath not been a ground of *Mr. Rogers* his diſcontent (that I ſay not malice) I will not poſitively affirm, yet fear (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks of a young novice) that he hath been lifted up of pride and fallen into the condemnation of the devil. For, ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, 'The ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves,' &c. My Lord, I could ſay much more, but am unwilling to trouble your Highneſs; only I beſeech your Highneſs to permit me to ſpeak my heart in one thing, which is this—viz. that if your Highneſs ſhould ſtudy to pleaſe *Mr. Rogers*, you cannot do it in a more direct line than by impriſoning of

him. Not that I believe he hath any principle wherewithal truly to glory before God, nor doth he ſimply delight in being reſtrained; but, my Lord, by this means he gets great ſtore of money, having many viſitants, and ſome of quality. Wherefore, my Lord, I humbly ſubmit it to your Highneſs' conſideration, whether, after a ſober and ſharp reproof, it would not be well to give him his liberty; for, my Lord, in reality and truth his deſign is not for the Fifth Monarchy, but how to get money. And to that end he hath for above theſe two years given it out, that it hath been ſtrong upon his heart that he ſhall die a martyr, though, I fear, none of thoſe whom Chriſt hath as yet owned. And therefore, what other comfort he hath by impriſonment than getting money, I underſtand not: for certain it is he acts not in the ſpirit of Jeſus; and being not conformable to Chriſt in his death and ſufferings, ſurely the Spirit of Glory, nor of God, doth not reſt upon him. Wherefore, my Lord, I beſeech you conſider whether it would not be beſt yet a little longer, by gentleneſs and meekneſs, to heap up coals of fire upon his head; and if he turn not at ſuch a reproof, which God uſually takes up to reduce ſinners, then certainly the Lord hath not called your Highneſs to bear the ſword in vain: and yet, if he perſiſt in the forwardneſs of his heart, I hope when the Parliament ſits they will call him to an account; which I confeſs I would rather they ſhould do than your Highneſs, of whoſe uprightneſs I hope the Lord will bear further witneſs to, notwithſtanding all gainſayers.

I deſired to know of *Mr. Secretary* whether all comers might be admitted to *Mr. Rogers*, who told me that he had no directions at all therein. The laſt Lord's Day I am informed that there was at the leaſt a hundred perſons that went to ſee him; neither can I reſtrain them until your Highneſs' pleaſure be known herein."

Thurloe, iii. 485.

While he was in priſon *Rogers* wrote two books,—

1. "Priſon-born Morning Beams;" or, a Hiſtory of his Sufferings at Lambeth. The Introduction only was ſaved, and this was printed as part of his ſecond book,—

2. "Jegar Sahadutha; or, a Heart Appeal:" a Hiſtory of his ſufferings at Windſor and elſewhere.

He was very much annoyed at the difficulty he found in ſecuring a printer in the face of the Ordinance of Treaſon, and at the cowardly mutilations to which his books were ſubjected. Of courſe they were printed ſecretly, and, ſo far as the printer was concerned, anonymouſly. It muſt be remembered always that when theſe books were circulated he was ſtill in priſon, wholly and entirely at the mercy of the authorities, the gaolers, and the ſoldiers whom he ſo fiercely reviles.

Accompanying the book is a ſhort Preface, of which the following is a part:—

"FROM A FRIEND TO A FRIEND.

The books mentioned by the author are very ſtrangely miſcarried; only the Introductory part to the firſt treatiſe, or 'Priſon-born Morning Beams,' are preſerved and gotten together, as the occaſion of his falling upon ſo large a ſyſtem, ſo ſome part of his ſufferings at Lambeth until Windſor, which therefore we have added unto his 'Heart Appeal,' (having been hardly kept and collected) that the view of preſent perſecution may be the more clear, and his Hiſtory the more complete, though to my knowledge many things are omitted, paſſages left out, fleeced, and ſheered round, beſides much more which in time may be added, if need be, as ſome of us hear, of ſeveral reaſonings between him and O. P., him and ſoldiers, him and miniſters, him and many adverſaries, beſides what ſufferings have been added ſince theſe papers came from him to this chain.

It may be theſe ſufferings may work upon ſome that hear them; they have on ſome that ſaw them, yea, even amongſt the ſoldiers, for we hear that one of them formerly

buſy is now wounded and touched in conſcience for it, and others have left them for their cruelty to theſe, whiles the Cavaliers can have liberty to drink, ſwear, or anything, it ſeems, and live as they liſt. And thus, ſay the ſoldiers, may our friends too, ſo they be for their Lord Protector and his G——, whom the Lord protect us from, and from their wickedneſs in high places."

The next chapter, compiled from various parts of the Introduction to "Priſon-born Morning Beams," will give an account of his arreſt and his impriſonment at Lambeth.

CHAPTER V.

MORNING BEAMS; OR, THE VISION OF THE PRISON PATHMOS.

LIB. I.

CHAPTER I.—HAGAH.

The Introduction, with the cauſe accidental of the following Diſcourſe upon the preſent truth and teſtimony.

The General Introduction by way of Lamentation.

IT is none of the leaſt part of our priſon Threnodies in the preſent tragedy, which the bloody Beaſt by a new guiſe hath acted again upon the ſtage of Great Brittanny, the trampling under foot the preſent truth and teſtimony of Jeſus, ſo as that ſcarce one interpreter of a thouſand durſt entertain or own it ſimply, which at beſt hath but a paſſport from many, and ſo is whipped away from one to another, from poſt to pillar, according to the Court law for a vagrant, with warrants like to Pope Eugenius, 'hoc eſſe verum, ſi ipſe velit, ſed non aliter.' This or that is true if he, His Holineſs (or His Highneſs) will have it ſo, but not otherwiſe. Who then can find the faith or courage to expoſe his life, or at leaſt his liberty and eſtate to ſo prodigal a hazard, as he muſt do who will fetch it from under the Beaſt's foot, and feel the acrimony or cruelty of his ſharp clunch, claw, or horn piercing him to the very heart.

Well may our priſons ſound and reſound with exaggerated night groans, for the Court and country increaſe in lying and tranſgreſſing, and falling backwards, perpetrating iniquity at ſo high a rate as will ſuddenly fill up their meaſure. This I ſee evidently from my iron bars. And yet none intercede for the truth; not one will run after it, follow it, meet it, or to the face of all own it. O what a lamentation is this! if one doth like Wiſdom's child but a little juſtify it . . . he that doth ſo expoſes himſelf to be ſpoiled, plundered, impriſoned, and made a prey of to the ravenous beaſt that eats bones and all. (Zeph. iii. 3).

Alſo when I advert the height of the controverſy already between the Lamb and the Beaſt (precious blood of ſaints having ſealed thereto) and the vials ſo lately poured out upon the King, lords, prelates, and corrupt powers of this State; alſo our late zeal againſt Common Prayer, Croſſes, Painted Windows, Rails, Surplices, Corrupt Miniſters, Magiſtrates, and the like; O! my ſoul even bleeds within me to behold the preſent apoſtacy of ſpirit, principles, and perſons, not only among mercenary profeſſors, but the little remnant whoſe coldneſs, cowardlineſs, and careleſſneſs is almoſt incredible, at this time of day too. And were it not to fulfil the word of God (Rev. xi.) that this preſent death is upon us for theſe three years and an half, I ſhould be ſo aſtoniſhed at it as not to know what to make of it.

But when I am venting my burthen with theſe like words or paſſions, 'Lord, where is the ſpirit of old, yea, the ſpirit, and faith, and courage that we ourſelves had ſome ten, twelve, or fourteen years ago, among the good old Puritans? Yea, the ſpirit of Engliſhmen and rational men among us. O! what a change it is! What ſheepiſhneſs, what ſleepineſs, what deadneſs, what darkneſs, what timorouſneſs, and what tameneſs is now ſeized upon us!' The

light ariſing in darkneſs doth put an end to ſuch reaſonings and ſyllogiſms, giving reſt to my ſpirit till the time of the end, which is at hand.

Now, if ever there were a time to hear the grave-groans of the living and the dead, of thoſe who are in priſon-graves, and of thoſe whoſe ſkulls and bones we left behind us in the field, and of thoſe under the altar, who cry, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true?' (Rev. vi. 10). Yea, the ſhrill heaven, heart, and earth tearing call of ſaints, paſt, preſent, and to come, from the days of Abel to this day, to maintain their cauſe, to revenge their blood and the Lamb's, and to be UP AND DOING for the Lord Jeſus, the King of Saints, it is NOW within a year or two, as we ſhall ſhow you.

Woe to them that are at eaſe (Amos vi. 1), yea, to the very women that are careleſs (Iſaiah xxxii. 9, 10, 11, 12), for they ſhall lament; and if ye will be all ſilent, the very graves ſhall open, the dead ſhall live, the dry bones ſhall live, the ſtones of the ſtreet ſhall ſpeak, and the beam of the timber utter it, the witneſſes will ariſe, and the earth-quake come to take vengeance againſt this apoſtate generation of four profeſſors.

But, ſay ſome, ſeeing the priſons are ſo deeply ſenſible, and bear ſo heavy a burden for us, how falls it that before now your exonerating groans and ſighs got not a free paſſage abroad in the nation?

1ſt reaſon why the priſons are ſo ſilent.

1. To which I muſt anſwer, that for above a year's impriſonment now, partly more at large and partly cloſe, I have been under the preſſure of the ſpirit, as if my heart would break within me at times, to ſee ſo ſervile and degenerate a ſpirit, as yet, among the ſaints. Yet, with patience, purpoſing to wait and poſſeſs my ſoul, as unwilling to write what few if any were able to bear, though moſt honourable truth, I kept in as long as I could, not knowing but there might have been before this a kindly recurrence among

ſome of thoſe retrograde motions which ſo tremendous and fearful a wrath as I eaſily foreſee follows the heels of. Beſides, ſo great is the ſervile ſpirit and fear which poſſeſſes the hearts of men againſt the glorious cauſe and controverſy of Chriſt, for which we are impriſoned, plundered, exiled, or perſecuted, that what we write to eaſe our hearts and conſciences, with the greateſt ſobriety and ſimplicity, we cannot carry through the preſs or get printed upon any terms almoſt in the language, life, and ſavour of the preſent anointing from the Holy One which is upon us and teaches us all things. That new-found engine of the Beaſt (the Ordinance of Treaſon for words and imaginations) hath put them into ſo panic and fooliſh a fear that above an hundred ſheets preparing for the preſs, to enlighten the deluded, abuſed people of this nation as to us and our cauſe, or rather Chriſt's (while they give out we ſuffer not for conſcience) have been either betrayed by Iſcariot kiſſes, plundered from me, or ſtifled before they were born, and all this leſt the people ſhould have light into the ſufferings of our conſciences, or conſcience of our ſufferings, viz. the truth of the Fifth Kingdom, or to receive a right information of the apoſtacies, hypocriſies, perjury, cheating, perſecution, and unheard-of baſeneſs of ſuch as are gotten into power.

2nd Reaſon. The priſon opprobries, abuſes, and injuries, eſpecially at Lambeth.

2. The marvellous trials which I have encountered with in the fleſh ſince impriſonment have much impeded my appearing in public until now. But the truth, cauſe, and perſecuted ſaints do expect ſome account at my hands, it ſeems, of the particular harſh uſage I and my family met with under this power in Lambeth Houſe (and ſince), where I was for above five and thirty weeks, and then ſent to Windſor Caſtle the 31ſt day of firſt month, 1655, with two meſſengers, who delivered me up priſoner here a little before noon.

I was fetched out of my bed the 27th day of fourth

month in 1654, early in the morning; and at night, after all day waiting, I was ſent to Lambeth Priſon, being very ill and diſtempered with a fever; yet for all that, at eleven in the night, did a meſſenger rap at the gates, called another of the meſſengers, who was going into his bed, made him put on his clothes again to aſſiſt him, and ſo they came both, with *Harding* the under-gaoler, to carry me at that time of night I knew not whither (nor would they tell me). But being very ill on the bed, and my wife alſo unready, I told them I was not able, prayed them to let me alone for that one night—told them the righteous man was merciful to a beaſt, and were a beaſt of theirs, horſe or cow, ſo ill or little able to ſtir, they would be more merciful—with many more arguments I and my wife alſo deſired them to forbear that night; but they ſaid they had orders from *Serjeant Dendy* to remove me preſently, and I muſt not ſtay, one of them ſpeaking very high and threatening. The iſſue was, they made me riſe, and my wife to make herſelf ready; and I, ſcarce able to go, my head being light with the fierceneſs of the fever, was forced that time of night to one *Leadbeater's** houſe, a meſſenger, into a little low dark room, where was very little air, which I much needed, and for which I rather wiſhed to be in the other priſon. The next day at night new orders came to carry me to Lambeth again, where I continued, till *Serjeant Dendy* procured my removal. Of which place I ſhall chooſe principally for the preſent to give a ſhort hint or abſtract account, leaving the whole hiſtory for a fitter ſeaſon, that the obſtreperous falſe reports may be obviated, our ſufferings (a little) known and ſympathized with, His poor ſervants prayed for, their faith and patience owned, their God be glorified, and his enemies

* Joſhua Leadbeater was appointed one of fourteen men to attend the Council as Deputies to the Serjeant-at-Arms, 26th Dec. 1651.—*Order in Council of that date.*

Worſe than heathen tyranny to us.

1. Uncondemned and without law.

This is contrary to all or moſt of their declarations, where they call this tyranny in the King and Biſhops, and incongruous with the laws of God, of nature, and of nations.

found liars and aſhamed of their worſe than heathen tyranny to us. Which appears in theſe particulars,

1. By the law of the heathens (the Romans) none were to ſuffer before the law had judged and condemned them. This is the rule of reaſon, contrary whereunto our perſecutors now practiſe, having put us into priſon thus year after year, with worſe uſage and more cloſe than the worſt Malefactors, Cavaliers, Plotters, Ranters, Blaſphemers, or offenders they put amongſt us. For all the while I was, by order from *Serjeant Dendy*, kept out from the air of the common hall, the wicked crew of Cavaliers, Plotters, Ranters, Roarers, drinking, curſing, ſwearing, ſinging, fiddling, gaming, and blaſpheming day and night, had the benefit of it. Yea, for above thirty weeks they would not ſuffer me to ſtir out of the gate for air; but the worſt of all other priſoners had their liberty with their keepers every day. And when order was to let but three at a time to come to ſee me—yea, not to ſuffer man, woman, or child to come at me, nor one of my family to ſtir out for neceſſaries for me, the worſt of men beſides had all that would come to ſee them, yea the moſt looſe ſort of people that could be, to ſit up healthing, hooping, ranting, and revelling with them at the higheſt rate in the moſt hideous manner about mine ears. Theſe had abundance of liberty to ſin, when we could not have liberty to pray together, or to have any holy aſſembly but at the priſon grates, when I put my head out at the iron bars to my dear brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt who ſtood in the ſtreet. And all this without any law condemning, any crime charged formally upon us, any witneſs againſt us, any trial of us, or licence given us to anſwer in any open Court. Only the ſixth of the laſt month the laſt year I was carried to Whitehall into a chamber, (where what was objected was denied to be any charge againſt us), and ſo remanded to priſon again; but by no other law than luſt and will—the beaſts' law, 'ſic

volo, ſic jubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas.' 'Take him, gaoler,' being all the trial, law, and ſentence.

2. Under the dragon power of Rome, the very gaolers, who are uſually the worſt of men, were more civil, courteous, and urbane than ours are to us; for *Paul's* gaoler let who would come to viſit him (Acts xxiv. 23). Yea, their gaoler pitied them, and waſhed their wounds and ſtripes, and made much of them (Acts xvi. 33); but our gaolers do add ſtripes, aggravate our crimes (pretended), augment our afflictions, accumulate into mountains lies, ſlanders, vilifying ſpeeches and reproaches upon us, invent and inform what they can, with any colour, againſt us, daily going to Whitehall for that purpoſe, and every way more to us than to the worſt malefactor they had. At Lambeth we found it ſo, from the upper to the under, from the maſter to the man gaoler; whiles others found very fair quarters and civil courtſhip who fed them with round ſums, which we could not buy at ſo dear a rate, and therefore, beſides other reaſons, were forced to coarſer fare. For after a few weeks, word was brought to my wife that I muſt pay in fees ſomewhat more than ſix pounds a week (which I was not able to do, having no eſtate in the world, and what I had being all taken away from me), and this for the rooms to *Serjeant Dendy*. About a week's ſpace after this one of *Serjeant Dendy's* men, old *Meazy*, came up at candle-light into my priſon chamber in the name of *Serjeant Dendy*, ſaying he came from him to demand the money which was due to him, for his fees and the chambers for ſo many weeks; ſaying I was to pay but ten ſhillings a day fees for myſelf, for although it was twenty ſhillings a day, yet the Parliament put down ten ſhillings a day of it; and for that *Serjeant Dendy* would uſe me courteouſly, he would have but fourteen ſhillings a week rent for the room where we kept a fire for my family while they were with me, and for the little inward lodging room, where was no chimney,

2. Our gaolers worſe to us than the heathens. A hiſtory of ſome few paſſages for an inſtance.

where I lay, I ſhould know that when I came out. I told him I was not able to pay ſo much, nor did I judge it reaſonable, being in priſon upon will, and nothing brought to my charge; and therefore thoſe that impriſoned me muſt pay him. Yet this I would do willingly: if *Serjeant Dendy* will chooſe one honeſt man I will chooſe another, and what they think meet for me to pay, as God ſhall enable me, I will, ſaying withal I would know the *loweſt* which I muſt pay. He ſaid £4 4*s*. a week was the loweſt, at which I told him I was not able to do it, nor did my brother *Feake* at Windſor pay ſo much, but as I heard, but ſo much in a quarter as is demanded of me in a week; and that it was worſe than tyranny to take away all I had to live on, turn my wife and children, poor ſucking babes, out of doors, when the Lord allows a ſnail a ſhell, yet my poor wife and babes had not a ſhell to live in but my priſon; yea, and to hinder thoſe that would to miniſter to our wants, and to demand £4 4*s*. a week too, was wonderful unjuſt. But the old man, being techy hereat, flew from me with theſe menaces, 'You muſt and ſhall pay it, before you go out from hence.'

But becauſe the carriage of this buſineſs was ſo cruel, mercileſs, and unchriſtian, *Serjeant Dendy* was aſhamed to own it to good men, ſtoutly and often affirming that neither he nor any for him did ever demand it of me or threaten me about it. But with how little modeſty and grace, and that ye may ſee what wide mouths ravenous fiſhes have, it follows under the hands of ſome preſent in the priſon chamber when the old man came for the money, two of them being church-members:—

'We whoſe names are hereunder written do certify to whomſoever it may concern, that old *Michael Meazy* came as he ſaid from *Serjeant Dendy* (whoſe ſervant he is) into the chamber where *Mr. Rogers* is priſoner now at Lam-

beth, and in our hearing demanded of *Mr. Rogers* the ſum of ten ſhillings a day for fees for himſelf a priſoner to *Serjeant Dendy*, and of fourteen ſhillings a week for his chambers (in all £4 4*s.* a week): and for that *Mr. Rogers* made ſcruple to pay ſo much at preſent, the ſaid *Meazy* told him he muſt and ſhould pay it before he went out from thence. This we witneſs by our hands, who heard him demand that ſum of him, and can depoſe it.

DOROTHY HILL,
ALICE LEWIS,
ANN EVINGTON.'

Notwithſtanding, with ſo ſtrange a face they denied this, and ſaid I was no miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt if I affirmed it, and they would publiſh in newſbooks againſt me, and the like, I can ſhew it under *Serjeant Dendy's* own hand, by ſeveral orders and letters, that the not paying thoſe fees and ſums of money was one thing that made him ſo harſh to me above others. For, ſoon after, the old man went to Whitehall and told his tale againſt me in his own mood and figure, and then followed the enſuing letter from *Serjeant Dendy* to me:—

'SIR,

I took not my houſe at Lambeth to accommodate families, but only ſuch priſoners as by order of the Council ſtand committed to me; and therefore, whereas I hear you ſay *Mr. Feake* at Windſor hath his wife and children with him, and yet pays nothing, which is not altogether improbable, becauſe Windſor Caſtle is the State's proper houſe, but ſo is not mine nor the goods. Wherefore, inaſmuch as I am informed that it is commonly reported that you are at £6 a week charge (though I know not of a penny that hath as yet been received from you); and this declared on purpoſe to abuſe the well-minded, by provoking their

charity toward you, of which I wiſh you were as capable as ſome other. Further, your wife at your firſt coming to my houſe, vapouring that ſhe would give £5 aforehand, ſo you might be accommodated at my houſe (which was more public than others of my deputies, and ſo to ſerve your deſign was rather made choice of), upon theſe conſiderations, having no allowance at all from the State to defray ſo great a charge as my houſe at Lambeth amounts to, I deſire you will remove your children and ſervants to ſome other place more proper for them, to which end I have ordered that you have a week's time from this day to diſpoſe of them, and for your own particular, and your wife, if ſhe be with you, to be treated with all civility, and have as good accommodation as my houſe can afford. So, wiſhing that you may be partaker of Chriſt's ſufferings rather than thoſe of evildoers, I reſt,

Your loving friend,

E. DENDY.

Sept. 14, 1654.'

I confeſs I was much grieved at this letter, for that I knew not whither to ſend my poor children from me, two of them being about a year old and very weak, and my poor family being thruſt out of all. Beſides, the lines were fraught with falſe reports, I perceived, of my wife and me, and pitiful, uncharitable cenſures and ſuppoſitions, as that I ſought to come thither to abuſe the well-minded, whereas I knew not of my returning to Lambeth till *Harding* came with a new order; nor did I otherwiſe deſire it but for air, in the time of my burning fever. I confeſs I did deſire more air; and ſo my wife ſaid ſhe had better give five pounds than be ſo choked up in a little hole for want of air (as *Lead-beater's* houſe was). But then came in conſolation from Matt. v.—'Bleſſed are ye when they ſhall ſpeak all manner

of evil of you.' So that I thought it beſt to ſpread it before the Lord, and wait with patience; and ſo I did, without any noiſe, as the ſheep that is bit by the fierce teeth of a dog weeps inwardly moſt, and whines not like a hog. But ere long he ſends a moſt ſevere order to the under-gaoler to take away the beds from under us, yea, to execute his order that night that one of my children lay giving up the ghoſt; but becauſe the child was gaſping he could not find the heart to execute it; and the child dying that night, he then ſaid he would not have done it for a hundred pounds, though his maſter commanded him ſo ſtrictly to obſerve his orders. But for all this, and the death of one child and the weakneſs or drawing on of another,* their immanity without pity was proſecuted upon me; and to ſhow it ſufficiently the under-gaoler brings me theſe two enſuing warrants:—

'WILLIAM HARDING:†

I am informed one of *Mr. Rogers* his children was carried away laſt night very ſick, and which, for ought I

* "1653. Peter } Sons of John and Elizabeth Rogers, borne and baptized
Paul } 28 September.
1654. Paul ye ſon of John and Elizabeth Rogers, decd ye 12th, burd. ye 13th October.
1654. Peter ye ſon of John and Elizabeth Rogers, decd ye 1st, burd. ye 2 of November."
From the Pariſh Regiſter of St. Thomas Apoſtle's, London.

† Anthony Wood gives the following account of this Harding:—"In the times of Uſurpation, when the Biſhops were put down and their lands ſold, the ſaid palace [Lambeth] was inhabited by ſeveral lay perſons, of whom Tho. Scot, one of the Regicides, and one Harding, were two. Which laſt having the chapel allotted to him as part of his ſhare, he divided it into two rooms. . . . At length, hearing that the corpſe of Archbiſhop Parker had been there interred, he took up the floor and pavement under it, and having ſo done dug up the corpſe, which was put into cere cloth of many doubles in a coffin of lead. The coffin he ſold to a plumber; and after he had cauſed the cere cloth to be cut open to the

know, may be the ſmall-pox, which you cannot but hear the city and ſuburbs are much infeſted with, and none more liable to take the diſeaſe than children. Wherefore, in regard of the danger through multitudes of perſons coming to *Mr. Rogers*, I would have you once more let him know that I expect that he remove his children and ſervants to ſome other place. For I am reſolved not to endanger the health of my priſoners any longer. Therefore, if *Mr. Rogers* will not remove his children after ſo fair and civil a warning, let the bedding be carried into another room. Herein fail not.

Yours,

E. DENDY.'

But the truth is, the gaoler's children were ill of the ſwine-pox, whereby we and other priſoners were in danger, but, bleſſed be the Lord, not one of ours; and the child we ſent away one night, for fear he ſhould catch it in the houſe, the next day we had him home again to the priſon; for we had not, nor have we any other earthly home but a priſon now. So that my family was forced to be with me, which was according to the law of God and nature (the child being in good health); nor was there the leaſt ground to ſuſpect ſuch a diſeaſe in my family.

And indeed, the warning, which he calls civil, to ſend my children from me (and the Lord knows I knew not whither) I could not ſee civil or Chriſtian, and therefore reſted rather contented to have the bedding pulled from

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fleſh (which he found freſh as if newly dead), he conveyed the corpſe into an outhouſe where he kept poultry, and there privately tumbled it into an hole. About the time of the Reſtoration of Charles II. that baſe fellow, the brute that removed it, was forced to diſcover where he had laid it; whereupon it was brought into the chapel, and buried juſt above the Litany deſk, near the ſteps aſcending to the altar."—*A. Wood*, Athen. Oxon. i. 689.

under me, and to lie in pads of ſtraw with my poor children, than to be ſo mercileſs and unfatherly to them as he commanded. Beſides, there were very few priſoners then in the houſe, and abundance of rooms ſtood empty for want of gueſts, they not having a third part of the priſoners (I hear) are there now. Nor had we any more chamber room than one priſoner who was in before us, a plotter. Mr. Brown.*

With this he delivered me another at the ſame time, which follows :—

'WILLIAM HARDING,

It's not unknown to you the great charge I am at for my houſe, &c. and particularly for my goods, for which I pay ſeven pounds a month, which by the year is £91. All which I perceive *Mr. Rogers* and his wife are not ſenſible of, otherwiſe they would not take upon them to appoint what lodgings my priſoners ſhould have, as that they ſhould not lie two in a bed but ſingle, ſo as the priſoners' wives might come and live with them; which freedom I ſhall not deny to any priſoner, although I might do it. So I hereby again order you to remove *Mr. Rogers* his children and ſervants forthwith. And if the printer's wife do come, let them lie in the chamber within *Mr. Rogers*, or in the outward room, which he will. For I ſee no reaſon that I ſhould find bedding for *Mr. Rogers* his children and ſervants, when he refuſeth to pay me for it. I do expect that my orders ſhould be better obſerved by you than hitherto they have been, otherwiſe I ſhall ſee that directions be followed more to my quiet. If you find that *Mr. Rogers* or his wife will not remove their children and ſervants, let

Mr. Chapman's.

The lodging room where I lodged.

* Two perſons of this name, "papiſts," were amongſt the Royaliſt "plotters" impriſoned in June, 1654, for Gerard and Vowel's plot.

me know it, and I ſhall diſpoſe of *Mr. Rogers* to ſome other place; being reſolved to free my houſe of ſuch domineering ſpirits.

Yours,

E. DENDY.

Oct. 20, 1654.'

Theſe two together ſounded very harſh to my very heart, at that ſeaſon too, whiles another ſweet child was ſo near the grave too, very weak, and died within three or four days after. I confeſs the trials were very great; but, for that I perceived this was a matter of money, and nothing elſe would ſtay the ſurges and ſources of this raging ſea, I ſent my wife after candlelight to Whitehall, with five pounds, which I was glad I could get together for him (not being able to ſend him more then), who carried it; but at that time they thought it not fit to receive it, but to accoſt her with coarſe courtſhip and dialect, and ſo to ſend her home to priſon again, telling her that we domineered in his houſe, and took upon us to appoint lodgings for his priſoners, &c. How ſuch ſtories could be coined or invented I wondered, when for three, four, or ſix weeks together I ſtirred not out of my room or ſpake with one priſoner or gaoler, perceiving how they were ſet together againſt me—the priſoners for reproving their ſins at ſo high a rate day and night when I had liberty to preach and pray. Seeing I was in priſon with ſo wicked a blaſpheming, curſing, ranting crew—'hominibus perfrictæ frontis'—with men of ſo much impudence and immodeſty, with raving beaſts, with very brutes, I judged it beſt not only to keep out of their company, but out of their ſight, as much as might be; inſomuch that they could not tell, I am perſuaded, but on the Lord's day, or when I preached or prayed in family, or the like, whether I was in the priſon or no, but by hearſay. Yet it ſeems, the night before this laſt warrant he ſent me,

Mr. Chapman and *Mr. Spittlehouſe** were brought in priſoners, who ſupped with me in my priſon-chambers. That night at table, in diſcourſe they ſaid they lay both in one bed. I ſaid I thought, if they would, they might have each of them a chamber, one within the other; for that all the other priſoners had ſo that I ſaw. But the gaoler's boy liſtening, as ſome one or other frequently did for ſtories at my chamber door, carried down, as unhappy boys uſe to do, what he could make of it to his father, who carried it or ſent it next morning betimes to Whitehall, which occaſioned the aforeſaid's words, as I conceive.

After, I put pen to paper and wrote theſe enſuing lines:—

'Cousin Dendy,

I have received ſeveral meſſages from you which have been very harſh and unexpected, and indeed, I think, undeſerved. I had wrote unto you long before, had not my wife deſired to come to you, as ſhe did late laſt night, and had done it long before had not my children been ſo ill. One of them is dead, and another very weak; and having but two left alive, I did hope for more mercy. I beſeech

* Live-well Chapman was the printer of moſt of the books publiſhed by the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. Col. Barkſtead, Lieutenant of the Tower, ſpeaks of him as "the owner or at leaſt a ſharer in the private preſs, which hath and doth ſo much miſchief."—*Thurloe*, iv. 379.

Spittlehouſe publiſhed, about this time, "Certain Queries propounded to the moſt ſerious conſideration of thoſe perſons now in power, or any others whom they may or do concern. By John Spittlehouſe (late of the Army), whom the Lord hath ſtirred up (in the abſence of Mr. Feake and Mr. Rogers, now priſoners of the Lord Jeſus), to mind our preſent Rulers and Army of their Perſecutions and Apoſtacies, and what is likely to follow them for ſo doing if they repent not. London: printed for Live-well Chapman, in Pope's-head Alley. 1654."

you, couſin, be not too ready to receive falſe and unworthy reports, &c. &c. . . . .

With our real and true reſpects to my couſin, your wife, and all our friends with you, I am

Your unfeignedly loving, though
Afflicted and oppreſſed kinſman,

JOHN ROGERS.

Lamb (i' th') Priſon,
Viz. Chriſt in this Mount with me. Oct. 21.

Poſtſcript.—Here *Harding* denies that ever I or any of us domineered or ſaid anything of the priſoners about other rooms or lodgings. *Mr. Meazy* alſo denies that ever he told you I ſaid *Mr. Feake* pays nothing.'

I confeſs I wrote brokenly, my mind being ſo diſtracted, but not ſo as might miniſter any juſt occaſion to uſe me and my poor family as they did afterwards, inſulting over us, and adding affliction to our bonds daily. A while after this old *Meazy* came again for money, who had £5 of us, being all that we could then get him, which bought us quiet for a few days; but then finding us unable to lay down the full price for it, we loſt the manſion. And beſides we bought our proviſions, and had our drink at the beſt hand from abroad, which made our gaolers, upper and under, more enemies to us than before; for the gain which *Harding* had, and which it is ſaid he pays out of every barrel of beer to his maſter, is great from priſoners. So that now nothing but evaporating wrath, curſing and ſwearing to be revenged, ſetting all the wicked priſoners upon us, who put their wits upon the tent-hooks, to that purpoſe inventing and coining new ways and words, ſaying they hoped to ſee me dance in a rope and ſwing in a halter, calling us Hypocrites, Liers, Deceivers, yea, Rogues and

Queans and Devils, and what not, affronting me to my face if I went but down ſtairs, which made me ſeldom ſtir down for air, not above once or twice in a quarter of a year. When *Paul* was in danger of his life, his Gaoler, the Captain, came and reſcued him from the Jews, and after looſed his bonds; but theſe are ſo far from pity, ingenuity, or Chriſtianity, that their frequent dialect is bitter, bloody, malicious; and menacing, as if they longed to have our blood, ſwearing to run me through if I offered to ſtir, putting Cavaliers, Ranters, Blaſphemers upon it to plot againſt me for my life, to gather up articles againſt me from what they overheard or invented, from my praying or preaching, or ſinging of hymns, writing down all they could make for their purpoſe, and then ſending them to *Serjeant Dendy*, or to Whitehall to *Mr. Thurloe*, againſt me. The firſt informer they got up againſt me was one *Abdy*, a high Ranter and Blaſphemer and Atheiſt, who was ſtabbed to death that day that he was promiſed and expected his reward at Whitehall for his good ſervice againſt me, and his were ſome of the articles they read againſt me at Whitehall. This man did frequently conſult with the Devil, calling him his God, and, as I heard, in the chamber below me conjured him up in a perſonal ſhape. When he heard me at prayer in my family he would come to the door, ſhrieking, yelling, and ſcreaming with a moſt hideous noiſe, thump at the door, open it, and come in among us, ſinging, roaring, ſmoking tobacco, curſing, ſwearing, blaſpheming, blowing horns, and the like, on purpoſe to diſturb us. Three days before he was ſtabbed, and after he had ſent in his forged articles, which he gathered againſt me to take away my life, he made a moſt blaſphemous ſong. This ſong he and ſome more of the ſame ſort came to my door with ſinging it together in the tune of a pſalm or hymn, ſcoffing, laughing, ſwearing, and blaſpheming moſt hideouſly between whiles. Beſides him ſome other

of the priſoners were put on this practice, and a little before I was called to Whitehall laſt, old *Meazy* came, he ſaid, from *Serjeant Dendy* to bid them get all their papers they had ready, who ſaid they would, and immediately went together one day after another until they had gathered up articles into two or three ſheets, as I hear, againſt me, bragging what they would do, and ſo ſent them to *Serjeant Dendy*, and he appointed his man to carry them to *Mr. Thurloe*. They were grown ſo high then as to come into my chamber upon me and invade me, my wife and family there, with violent and moſt virulent invectives, ſtabbing words and threats, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὅπλα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν μάκαιρα ὀξεῖα, inſomuch as they being deſperate, our lives we thought were in danger by them. So that I ſay we received not Roman civility, or ſo much as ſober Heathen uſage from them, and were by many degrees more brutiſhly and barbarouſly treated than the verieſt miſcreant Cavaliers, Ranters, or Blaſphemers they had. For they had the liberty of any room in the houſe; of any of their friends, though ever ſo rude, to ſee them; yea, the Cavaliers at this day, courted by *Serjeant Dendy* and his wife, offering to ſend down-bedding if they lay too hard, giving them liberty to go abroad when they will, by day or by night, yea to go to Taverns when they liſt, yea to take the key and let who they will in and who they will out, and to keep my friends out, as if they were the gaolers, ſcoffing and mocking them by the name of holy ſiſters and holy brethren, and what not.

3. The priſon company with us worſe than in the Heathens' days.

3. They ſurpaſs the Roman tyranny, yea, of Nero too, in this, that *Paul* was priſoner in his own hired houſe two whole years, and he was ſuffered to dwell by himſelf; but we are torn out of our houſes like beaſts out of holes, and brought as I was into ſuch a company and crew at Lambeth, with them that were brought in there, that for drinking, ſwearing, revelling, fiddling, ſinging, roaring, and

blaſpheming, day and night, I never heard the like among the worſt Cavaliers or wickedeſt of men, making the Priſon to me a very Portraiture of Hell and Horror and hideous Blaſphemy among the damned ones, as I may have a ſeaſon to acquaint the world with ere long, for now I do but hint and inſtance in things for proof. They were ſo wicked that beſides all their moſt hideous mockery and contemning the ordinances of Chriſt, and foreſaid living in ſin day and night, they would aſſault my family, get the key, and ſolicit them to Taverns if they could, take the children, threaten them, and force them to ſwear, curſe, and call vile names. Yet theſe were the informers againſt and accuſers of me. Though I expect to ſuffer the ſharper for telling this little of the truth, yet Jehovah is on my ſide, of whom ſhall I be afraid?

4. The Roman power under Dragon government did give liberty to all *Paul's* friends to viſit him and miniſter to him; but our friends and acquaintance are forbid as to their coming. The 18th of the laſt twelfth month they let in a godly maid, after long waiting to ſee me, who went into the kitchen, the way up to my chamber; but there they fell upon her, and beat her about the head and body moſt ſadly, whiles others looked on, laughed at it, and made them ſport with it, and then turned her ſo abuſed out of doors again without ſeeing me. Another they reſolved to let in on purpoſe to pump him, ſeveral of the Cavaliers with the Gaoler having agreed it, as we hear; but the man hearing of it, prevented them, and never durſt come to ſee me there after that. As to their miniſtering to us, they do uſe very ſtrange and incredible lies, reports and means, for all that I can ſee, to ſtarve us and keep others from miniſtering to us, for they have taken away all, and yet exact heavy fees, and ſay they aſk none, and report high mountains of lies, either to make us odious that none might regard us, or elſe if a friend but come and

4. To hinder friends viſiting and miniſtering to us worſe than the Heathens.

dine with us, reporting we fare ſo bravely and better than their *Lord Protector*, and that all the churches in England had gathered for us, and that the church of Hull* had ſent me thirty pounds at Lambeth, with abundance more of ſuch abominable untruths, on purpoſe to poſſeſs our friends with theſe reports, and to bind up their hands from miniſtering to us, who have, may they be believed, ſo little need, and had they been believed, the Lord knows we might have ſtarved. *Serjeant Dendy* was very diligent to vent ſuch reports to ſuch friends as have told me of it again with grief when they ſaw them ſo untrue. Sometimes too they ſay we are kept high in priſon, and it makes us proud, and that for this reaſon we will keep in; and at other times that their *Lord Protector* gives us a large table and liberal allowance. The truth, or rather the untruth, is ſoon known: neither doth their *Lord Protector's* charity reach to us, ſo far as to allow us bread and water, for all that he hath taken away our livelihood from us and our little ones, which is far more cruelty than King, Prelates, Papiſts or Heathen did ſhow, for they gave an allowance to every traitor, beſides what friends miniſtered to them. Yea, *Bonner*, as bloody a beaſt as he was, ſent proviſion to *Mr. Philpot* and others into his Coal-houſe. But we know whom we ſerve; yea, when bread fails, faith feeds hard, (Ps. xxxvii. 3,) 'paſcere fide,' as Junius reads it; for faith fetched *Daniel* his dinner into the den, out of *Habbacuc's* belly too, if the ſtory be true, whiles the Lions lacked, and ſo faith fetches in food and raiment and outward things for us, ſore againſt our enemies' and perſecutors' minds, it ſeems (Ps. xxiii. 5; xxxiv. 10), by opening the hearts and minds of ſome poor Saints to ſave it out of their own bowels for us, though there be but few, and

* His friend Colonel Overton had been the Governor at Hull, and Cann, the Fifth-Monarchy-Man, the Miniſter of a church there.

thoſe all poor, that dare or do own us at ſuch a diſtance. 'Dat bene, dat multum qui dat cum munere vultum.' But I ſpeak for the diſcovery of that unreaſonable ſpirit which is in our perſecutors, who report every mite or morſel of bread a mountain, upon a deſign to ſtay the hands of the Saints from miniſtering unto us, and ſo to tire and ſtarve us into an Apoſtacy and yielding from our principles with them. But 'fides famem non formidat,' for as one ſays 'if theſe perſecutors and purſuivants, tyrants and gaolers, will take away my meat, I truſt my God will take away my ſtomach, and ſo 'tis all one ſtill,' for this I am ſure of, that we ſhall be ſatisfied when our enemies ſhall want and be aſhamed (Prov. xiii. 25; Iſa. lxv. 13). Amen, ſays faith, who fetches this in alſo.

But thus far for the fourth particular, which proves their inveterate malice and hatred to the cauſe and me.

5. They fall ſhort of heathen civility, in the allowance the Romans gave; yea, *Nero*, as notorious a tyrant as he was, to *Paul* (Acts xxviii. 31), 'preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things which concern the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, no man forbidding him;' yea, and this at Rome, too, under *Nero's* noſe. But we are forbidden to preach in priſon, and our friends forbidden to come to us to hear us. Yea, *Serjeant Dendy* ſent a letter at large, which I have by me, to forbid it. Yea, the church ſociety I walk with are not ſuffered to come at me to pray or exerciſe with me; and after, they had an expreſs order to turn me out from the air and uſe of the common hall in Lambeth, becauſe I preached and prayed there. They ſaid alſo, they had order to keep priſoner any man that ſhould dare to pray with me in my chamber. The ſame day, when *Jonathan Taylor*, of Warwick Church, was with me and prayed, they gave warning thereof; and after that they took ſtrict notice of any that looked like a gifted brother. Here alſo at Windſor we have like experience, having been beaten,

5. To hinder praying and preaching to poor ſouls is beyond the Tyranny of Heathens.

abuſed, and clapped up cloſe for it, as we ſhall ſhow ere long. This is doubtleſs ſo high a crime, among Chriſtians too, that *Nero* ſhall find more mercy at the Day of Judgment, and it ſhall be eaſier for him than for theſe men, in this matter. But, 'ſignum eſt mihi majoris gloriæ ut omnes impii (fere) me deteſtantur.'

I might mention other particulars, too, wherein our perſecutors and gaolers are worſe to us than heathens or Romans under the Dragon Government, or Papiſts and Prelates under the Beaſt's Government; and to us too, who have all along fought in the field, raiſed men, ſpent our eſtates and ventured our lives, and for the very truths and upon the ſame principles we now ſuffer in. All this is the aggravation of the threnody.

Much might we ſay of *Paul's* plea of freeborn (Acts xxii. 28), and as we are the conquerors and never yet the conquered, though cheated and deceived ſide; and much more I might ſay, but that the ſword as it is hath neither eyes nor ears, and therefore can neither pity us as Engliſhmen nor as Chriſtians. 'The ſoldiers' counſel was,' Acts xxvii. 42, (and is it not?) 'to kill the priſoners.' But ſtay, Brother Redcoat! we except againſt thee; for we will have no butcher for a juryman.

The main cauſes which moved *Serjeant Dendy* to be ſo long a ſuitor, as I hear, to the Council for my removal to Windſor—according to his ſeveral threatenings by letters, meſſages, word of mouth at Whitehall that day I was before them—was the complaint the priſoners made, being afraid to take that freedom and exceſs in ſin day and night as they would do, whiles I was there; and then the gains which he loſt by my being there, both in fees and otherwiſe. As Acts xvi. 19, 'When they ſaw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught *Paul* and *Silas* and drew them to the market place to the rulers, and the rulers caſt them into priſon' (ver. 23, 24); yea they were 'thruſt into

the inner priſon.' But there they ſang praiſes; and ſo do we our 'antelucanos hymnos,' and ſo we will, till the foundations of this earthly government rend. Amen, Hallelujah! Yet I can tell them, that with a better conſcience, which is my continual feaſt, I can look out at theſe iron bars and ſing, whiles the thorn is at my breaſt to keep me watchful, than they can at their belconas or rattling coaches, or ruffling in their gold and gaudineſs, died in the blood of ſaints, and gotten by hypocriſy and cozening. No wonder they are alarmed with continual fears, whiles we poor worms in priſon need none of their courts of guard, but can ſleep ſweetly and ſecurely, though madmen, drunkards, and devils are about us day and night. Thou proudeſt tyrant, thou canſt but batter the veſſel, thou canſt but hurt the bark; but my life is hid with Chriſt in God. Amen! and Lord keep it there, that I faint not.

3rd Reaſon.

3. Another reaſon why I appeared not publicly from priſon before was impreparation, having been in the valley for the viſion many days and months before I could come to this; and I muſt confeſs I did deliberate with too much fleſh and blood, at firſt contenting myſelf more with the heavenly priſon and preſence of waiting than of writing, of praying than of publiſhing anything to the world, ſo that I might run the leſs hazard to life, liberty, fame, or eſtate, &c. But I was ſoon rouſed up out of this contentation and kind of contemplation whether I will or no, by a loud call to me for what is already born of God in me about the work of this age, yea, of the forty-five enſuing years after this, wherein the Lamb's followers and ſufferers under the banner of Chriſt are to know their places, maintain their watches, keep their motions, continue their marches, renew their charges, till they rout Babylon, and deſtroy the Beaſt's dominion root and branch, yea, until they do wonders in this old world. For the years of wonders (Dan. xii. 6) are now entering, upon the deſcenſion of the

Spirit of Life from God. And in order, I am to ſound the enſuing trumpet to the two witneſſes and remnant of the woman's ſeed, for it is no time to dally; the danger is great, the day is come, and we are engaged (there is no going off); live or die, ſtand or fall, fight or flight, is at hand. So that, after a long and humble attendance at the Throne for my preſent work, I am put upon this; whatever I muſt do or endure for it, ſo Jeſus be but magnified, my ſpirit is pitched, having ſo manifeſt and manifold a call for it thus.

The order of the Author's call to this treatiſe.

1. A ſpecial meſſage from the Lord brought by a choice ſervant of Chriſt and his Church.

1. A meſſage brought to me the 10th of this month by our S. *H. T.*,* who had a week's cloſe communion and conference with the Lord, in heavenly viſits and viſions—ſinging, praying, contemplating, communicating, and receiving amongſt other things a meſſage to deliver me in the priſon, which I had to this effect:—That the Lamb's Book ſhould be unſealed and the viſion opened to me, bidding me be of good cheer, for I ſhould ſhortly know my own work and what Iſrael ought to do.

Beſides, upon the firſt day of the third month laſt, after a very ſolemn faſt all day with my concaptive, to know our work and what we ſhould do, the ſucceeding night in my ſleep, I thought I lay under the ſhadow of a great mulberry tree, which hung full of great ripe mulberries." . . .

[He dreams that the mulberries fall into his mouth, whereby he is abundantly refreſhed.]

* Probably "our Siſter Hannah Taprell." (See p. 123, margin.) The newſpapers of the day report of her that ſhe was "a maid that lived at Hackney, and a member of Mr. John Simpſon's church. She appeared to be in a trance for a fortnight at a time; and ſome ſay that what ſhe does is by a mighty inſpiration. Her cuſtom is to pray ſometimes an hour and ſometimes two hours, and then ſings two hymns in two ſeveral tunes, and then prays again, and ſometimes ſings again. Her prayers are in exceeding good method and order, and her matter is various."—From *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 16, 1654.

. . . . "And when I awaked I was ſo indeed, full of joy, and could not hold, but told my wife of it preſently, and afterwards my friends. But before noon the ſame day I received a letter from the aforeſaid perſon with theſe lines:—'Truly, brother, I have ſeen you frequently in the Divine boſom, and have ſung abundantly Hallelujah for the cordials which I ſaw poured down your throat, which made you, I apprehended, like a champion, and like a triumphing conqueror. Go on, thou champion; for He hath ſaid He will ſtand by thee who ſtood by *Paul* at his firſt anſwer, when none ſtood by him,' &c. Some may muſe at my admitting of theſe things, but I do aſſure them it is neither to boaſt of them nor to build upon them, which is very dangerous; but it is to obſerve the concurrence and good effects of ſuch paſſages. For though I am as far from taking notice of, or having dependence upon dreams or viſions as any man alive, yet I muſt not omit the night teaching of the Spirit, nor ſuch dreams or viſions which bring forth bleſſed effects upon the ſpirits of men, or are ratifications of the truth and mind of God.

2. To ſecond that ſervant of God, the very next day, and ſince, many days in a week, have men of much wiſdom, grace, holineſs and integrity come unto me, to tell me that it is the expectation of the choiceſt ſaints in London, and ſome in the country alſo, the Remnant of the woman, to hear ſome news of the priſon viſion; yea, that they have kept praying by whole days and whole nights for that purpoſe, being very high to hear from us, that they, who are ready to give proof of their faith for the Lamb with us, in the very ſame battalia and teſtimony againſt the Beaſt, might be provoked by us in the preſent work, watch, and warfare.

2. The inceſſant expectation of the people of God.

3. The variety of reports, and of unſatiable reporters, which have run about city and country; yea, their very preachers, to make us monſters in the eyes of the poor

3. The flying reports which paſs and repaſs upon our

Principles and Practices

deluded people, report ſtrange things of us as they uſe to do of dogs—firſt ſpread abroad they are mad, and then hang them. Thus are we reported, and their inhuman tyranny upon us is in the pulpits reported to be no perſecution, but an act of juſtice. But how any of the preſent friars, chaplains or parſons can prove our ſufferings ſo, or dare utter it with ſuch boldneſs for orthodox doctrine to their poor deluded people, had not they the ſpirit of the Beaſt, and forehead of the Whore newly painted, I profeſs I ſhould have wondered; or how the people can be willing to hear ſo high pulpit lies at their prieſt's mouth is as much to be admired, were they not ſuch pitiful ſlaves in ſoul and body. For can there be an act of juſtice without a trial, or trial without crime, or crime without a law, or the like? Yet without all or any of theſe we lie in priſons year after year, only for preaching the truth, as their own conſciences can and do tell them, and all the world knows, and no formal charge againſt us to this day. So that the Prelates and Papiſts, who had a law of the land, &c. had more colour of juſtice than theſe men. Beſides them, and the fore-mentioned at Court, there be others, too, ſet a-work by Satan, viz. falſe brethren of the Churches we walk with—eſpecially two withdrawn from for ſcandal and ſin (whoſe names I am loath to make too public, for who knows but they may repent and be other men, which would be a great rejoicing to me), have moſt unchriſtianly reported, if not invented, ſuch things as my very ſoul abhors, which is publicly ſpread as far as Lewes in Suſſex—yea, the paſtor of the church told me, for all he knew, as far as Edinburgh in Scotland. And this makes me mention it the more particularly, becauſe no author can be found for it, and the Cauſe of Chriſt is ſo much concerned in it: which makes the Devil ſo buſy at this day, by divers inſtruments, after the aforeſaid two, to report me to have played at cards in Lambeth Priſon (a very vile ſlander) the laſt Chriſtmas, as they call it. The

by miniſters in pulpits and out,

and by falſe brethren.

Cavalier priſoners, and the reſt of the ranting crew in that priſon, did play, drink, and game day and night all the time; but for my part, I neither ſaw nor touched a pair of cards all the time, nor to my knowledge any one of my family; and to take off all ſcruple, I have had a kind of antipathy to cards ever ſince my ſufferings with the Puritans (ſo called by the Prelates) when I was yet but a child, being then led to it by their example when I knew no other reaſon, and cannot endure to ſee a pair of cards; and if I ſee but any anywhere that I can lay hands of, I burn them.

4. Another degree of the call is the proud, flaunting, and Goliath-like challenge made us by ſome of the Court-catchers and boaſters. One of the late Clerical Commiſſioners hath twice preſſed it upon me in the priſon to print ſomewhat; ſaying he would warrant I ſhould have liberty to do it without offence and without danger, print what I would, withal that I ſhould have an anſwer; which, with a kind of boaſting and inſulting, being urged ſo hard upon me, for the truth's ſake was a notable inducement to point my pen, for I hope to find a little ſtone fit for the purpoſe.

4. The Challenge of ſome of the Court Champions.

5. I find, beſides all ſaid before, caſes of conſcience come thick upon me, and ſent apace unto me, for reſolves in the work of the day about the witneſſes, the time, the ſtreet, the riſe, the order and effects of their riſing; alſo about the vials and about the Beaſt's dominion, the firſt and ſecond Beaſts, with their characters, and about the number of the Beaſt's name, and who is the man that makes up the laſt character of the Beaſt, viz. 666; and ſeveral queries, which I may ſay ſome ſcores of ſaints ſent or brought to me—to whom I ſhall miniſter my light in the enſuing treatiſe, having a ſufficient call (whatever it ſhould coſt me) in my place as a miniſter of the Goſpel to anſwer all caſes of conſcience.

5. The many caſes of conſcience ſent me alluding to this ſubject.

6. The doubts which are occaſioned by contradiction of doctrine in our abſence.

6. The frequent news brought us of that unſteadineſs, darkneſs, and indeed malignity and contradiction of doctrine which is delivered at London, whereby abundance of precious hearts have told me they are ſo confounded that they know not what to ſay, and can ſee no light in their doctrine, which makes them take ſo long journeys to the priſon for information; for that ſome of our brethren, inſtead of ſnuffing the candle, put it quite out, and ſo leave our wonted hearers in the dark.

7. Experiences of freſh incomes of light.

8. All temptations removed and the way cleared with many ſweet promiſes.

7. . . . . .

8. To name no more, I was ſomewhat dejected, yet not ſo as to deſpond or doubt of aſſiſtance, to ſee the moſt tremendous and dreadful wrath of God, which is to begin within two or three years upon this apoſtate generation, to paſs before me. Some temptations ſeized upon me, (through ſelf-diffidence and bodily diſtemper), *as* at the apprehenſion of the inextricaſy, depth, and incomprehenſiveneſs of thoſe deep prophecies which I have to ferry over or paſs through, wherein ſo many more able have ſunk and fallen before me, *ſo* at the fierce looks, bellowing threats, and atrocity of the Beaſt now up in England, who will not be able to bear the tidings of his deſtruction. But as the firſt part of the temptation was obviated and deforced by the former promiſes, ſo the other by what follows. For this morning, being the 18th of the 10th month, to make all the way clear, a full commiſſion was given me, and 'quietus eſt,' ſigned and ſent to me thus. Firſt, I ſaw in my ſleep a great Dragon of large ſize." . . . . . .

[He dreams that the Dragon periſhes without power of hurting, &c.]

Many objections made and anſwered.

Objection.

Anſwered.

"Yet I objected. But, Lord, though I have a call from circumſtances and ſaints, &c. yet what have I from the Scriptures?

Then came into my mind tumbling abundance of Scriptures and promiſes one upon another, as Iſaiah xxxv.

3, 4; xl. 1, 2; yea, that of Luke xxii. 32 was flung in forcibly upon my ſpirit, with abundance more.

But I objected further, What particular call have I, who am in priſon, to publiſh to the world anything that reflects ſo ſharply upon the preſent powers, perſons, armies, or the like? Objection.

But that of James v. 10 perched upon me in that point immediately—'Take the prophets who have ſpoken in the name of the Lord for an example;' for they feared not, in or out of priſon, the powers or perſons of Kings or the like. Anſwered.

Then I fell upon my unfitneſs, fewneſs of years, ſmallneſs of light, ſhallowneſs of judgment, weakneſs of faith, and the like. Objection.

But was preſently ſilenced by God's words to *Moſes* and *Jeremiah* ſuggeſted unto me (Exod. iv. 11, ſo Jer. i. 6, 7)—'Say not I am a child; for what I command thee thou ſhalt ſpeak (and write abroad, and) be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee to deliver thee, ſaith the Lord.' Do not I, the Lord, take when, where, and whom I will, and give of my Spirit, power, and ability to whom I will? Now therefore ariſe, and my Spirit ſhall be with thee, the pen of a ready writer. With which word my heart did exult and leap within me, being as full as I could hold. Anſwered.

But, Lord, ſaid I, what is it that I muſt write? What meſſage ſhall thy poor worm have for the world? When preſently, before I aſked almoſt, much fell upon me at once. 'The day of the Lord is at hand! It is his day! the day of his wrath! of his vengeance! and of great deſtruction upon the inhabitants of the world! upon this land! upon theſe apoſtates and adulterous generation of evil-doers! for they are all turned aſide! Blood cryeth unto blood, and the earth ſhall cover her ſlain no more! The Witneſſes ſhall up upon their feet, and the remnant The meſſage in bulk.

of the woman's ſeed do wondrous things; for by the ſpirit of *Elijah* they ſhall reſtore all again—Magiſtracy and Miniſtry as at the firſt, and recover the Holy City from the Gentiles that have trod it under theſe 42 months. They ſhall aſſault the great city, and climb up the wall like men of war; they ſhall pour out the vials upon the powers, prieſts, and armies of the Beaſt, and on all his dominion, and execute the vengeance on all his worſhippers and irrefragable ſupporters, ſubjects and followers that have his name or mark on their foreheads. Yea, the earthquake ſhall rend them up by the very roots, and the little ſtone ſtrike them up by the very toes; and none ſhall ſave them from the wrath of the Lamb that is to come.'

Objection. But ah! Lord, ſaid I, theſe men in power, haſt thou not owned them in the field at Nazeby, Dunbar, Worceſter? and wilt thou now reject them?

Anſwered. Upon which fell theſe Scriptures upon me: Iſaiah x.—'Shall the axe boaſt itſelf againſt him that heweth therewith, or the ſaw magnify itſelf againſt him that ſhaketh it? as if the rod ſhould ſhake itſelf againſt them that lift it up, or as if the ſtaff ſhould lift up itſelf as if it were not wood. Therefore ſhall the Lord Jehovah of Armies ſend among his fat ones leanneſs, and under his glory he ſhall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire; and the light of Iſrael ſhall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame; and it ſhall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day.' Beſides this, that of Jer. xviii.—'At the inſtant that I ſhall ſpeak concerning a nation and a kingdom to build and to plant it, if it do evil in my ſight and obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I ſaid I would benefit them.' But eſpecially that of Jeremiah—'Tell *Coniah*, were he as a ſignet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck him thence and give him into the hand of them that ſeek him.'

With theſe things I was ſatisfied and fleſh was ſilenced,

and faith ſo ſupplied and well raiſed that I fell forthwith upon this work. Wherein, according to my illumination, I muſt deſire leave to differ from many of our dear brethren whom I highly honour, that have put us and the preſent work at too great diſtance, having ſent it to Germany or to other places, from whence it being ſent back again to us in Great Brittanny, as I can ſhow by letter from foreign parts, where I hold correſpondence with the choiceſt lights, who ſee the riſing of the Witneſſes and ruin of the Beaſt's dominion in this our ſtreet firſt. Thus far for the call to it.

We accounted fools and madmen, and how we are ſo.

It may be I may be judged none of the wiſeſt to make ſo much ado in the entry of the diſcourſe, and to tell ſuch a ſtory of my Call to this treatiſe, which few men will heed or hear. Notwithſtanding, it is not labour loſt; for one may learn wiſdom by looking upon a fool; and indeed, I do grant that I am inſtructed, and ſtudy it every day more and more, to be and to ſpeak like them whom the wiſe men of the times repute fools, i. e. in all plainneſs, ſimplicity, and experimental language, and not in the wiſdom of words or acts, as the world would have us (1 Cor. ii. 4). I have ſtudied to be wiſe, as well as others; but now I am learning to be a fool, which none will look after, becauſe ſuch are the Lord's inſtruments, and by ſuch he will confound the wiſdom of the wiſe. Yea, ſuch aſſes and idiots as we are (by grace) the King of Saints ſhall ride upon into his throne; for, as one ſaid, 'Aſinos et idiotas Chriſtus elegit.' And, indeed, I write to and for ſuch fools, and not to the wiſe. But to ſuch fools as Jehovah hath made promiſe to (Iſaiah xxxv. 8) that they ſhould not err in the way, I write. And who but ſuch madmen and fools, in the world's opinion, would oppoſe Powers, Armies, Kings, Councils, Prieſts, Lawyers, or the reigning corruptions of the reigning Beaſt, as they do? who but they will run their lives, liberties, eſtates, &c. into ſuch apparent hazard?

or who but fools would deſpiſe preferments and places—£200, £300, or £1000 a year—and tread gold and ſilver under their feet at this day? Who be they but fools or madmen, that dare be ſo bold againſt great perſons, &c. as to utter all their minds at once, though they die for it? or who but ſuch will be meddling ſo? Who but fools and madmen, that will be venturing with a *Gideon* army of 300 againſt an army of 30, 40, or 100,000 men? And who but fools that build upon things not ſeen (Heb. xi. 1) nor likely in reaſon to come to paſs, as if they were already preſent? and who but they that look on the ends of the earth? Yet amongſt theſe fools for Chriſt's ſake I am content to be numbered, and for ſuch fools and madmen I calculate and inculcate the enſuing diſcourſe; ſo that, as the Apoſtle ſays, 'Wherein any is bold (I ſpeak fooliſhly) I am bold alſo.'

Some of the complaints poured forth at Lambeth were tranſmitted to Whitehall; the following reply is anonymous, but the ſuperſcription, date, and contents ſeem to indicate that it was either one of the papers collected by the Gaolers from *Abdy* and other priſoners, or the Gaolers' own vindication of themſelves:—

"*A Vindication againſt the Complaints of* Mr. Rogers, *addreſſed to* Edward Dendy, Eſq.

Lambeth, Feb. 3, 1655.

SIR,

In anſwer to yours about the unjuſt complaint of *Mr. Rogers*, we return theſe lines, being part of our juſt vindication in brief, and remain ready to enlarge verbally.

Firſt, to his charge that drunkards and ſwearers intrude into his chamber and ſit by his fire, we know of none but *Mr. Spittlehouſe* (of late a champion creature of *Mr. Rogers*, though now at defiance), ſat in his chamber, as being uſe to it; but for ſwearing and drunkenneſs, let

Spittlehouſe clear himſelf. The whole houſe can witneſs us clear from thoſe extravagancies.

We were never in his chamber but at his public ſpeaking, except once, when—ſome three weeks agone—he challenged and ſent for us five or ſix times, as being galled by a relation ſent him from us, occaſioned by his abuſes offered, wherein we diſcovered that we would not have him think us ſo ignorant, but that we diſcerned out of what box he juggled, by his and his ſociety's proceedings, in publiſhing ſedition, treaſon, rebellion, and therein included hereſy.

For though we hated informing, yet not being ſatisfied if to conceal treaſon were not treaſon, we ſhowed our diſlike thereof to your officers; adding, moreover, that his Highneſs had but bad ſervants if he were not acquainted with theſe odious proceedings, which to us are very ſtrange that a handful of Scum, the very Raff of Billingſgate, Redriffe, Ratcliff, Wappen, &c. ſhall aim at the deſtruction of this Government, as being by *Mr. Rogers* encouraged, animated, inſtigated, and ſeduced, not in any myſtical expreſſions, but in plain words, viz:—

That 'twill be all their own very ſhortly, and the great man at Whitehall muſt ſuddenly be confounded and deſtroyed, averring, with the moſt of ugly expreſſions and confidence, that they are the ſaints that muſt ſhortly enjoy and poſſeſs the glory of the earth, and all men being either ſaints or devils, whoſoever is not of their mind are devils, they being the ſaints.

That the Antichriſt, the Babylon, the great Dragon, or the Man of Sin, *Oliver Cromwell*, at Whitehall, muſt be pulled down, with much ſuch-like fantaſtic ſtuff.

One of them, ſpeaking or preaching in *Mr. Rogers'* chamber, had theſe words: that we did not live in an age to expect miracles, that Babylon cannot be deſtroyed, nor the ſaint at Windſor be releaſed, by only faith and prayer,

but you muſt be of courage, and make uſe of material inſtruments, and proceed by force; per example, ſaid he, if this houſe at Lambeth were to be pulled down, you muſt make uſe of materials, and not expect 'twill ever fall by faith and prayer.

Another time praying thus—'Lord, when wilt thou trample under feet him that hath ſtolen the government into his hands?'

Another time praying—'Lord, when wilt thou free thy ſaints from the fear of men? when ſhall they by force redeem the captives of the Lord in Windſor, this place, &c?' and as I apprehended, one ſaint at Maidſtone by name was expreſſed.

We add to this his intentions to raiſe ſeditions, treaſon, rebellion, and hereſy, as by witneſſes here can atteſt, that *Mr. Rogers* did read a letter openly to his auditors, which he ſaid came from *Mr. Powel* from Wales, who did aſſure him of twenty thouſand ſaints there ready to hazard their blood in defence of their cauſe.

Thus much for preſent vindication, forced from us by *Mr. Rogers* his aſperſions, occaſioned by the aforeſaid relation ſent him, the heads or chief contents thereof, which ſo much diſturbed him, and which we, from the premiſes and other evidences concluded, which were—

That he had undeceived us from ſuppoſing his way a blind zeal, by his frequent bloodthirſty expreſſions.

That his chief aim was carnal in ſtriking at the head of the Government, that he, as counting himſelf the chief of ſaints, might attain to the height of temporal preferments.

That he was uncharitable, damning and curſing all others not of his opinion.

That his hocus was to ſeduce the ſilly multitude, and juggle their means into his pocket, appeared by the continual gatherings at home and abroad, which we think is

one chief reaſon why thoſe journeymen that factiouſly join with him do follow his ſteps in exclaiming againſt the Government, that they might procure to themſelves ſuch like profits, and why we judged him a perfect hypocrite, was then related.

We ſhall conclude (being all paſſages would take up many ſheets) with *Mr. Rogers'* relation to his auditors the occaſion why *Col. Overton* was ſecured, whereby you may judge what edification he hath for his ſociety, the whole deſign being to turn and wind ſtate proceedings by his commenting to their fond ſenſe, ſaying 'twas not only for a private meeting with ſome of the ſaints in the country, and proceeding, charged the *Lord Protector* for injuſtice in that.

And, finally, take notice of his ſelf-made hymns, read by him, and publicly ſung by him and his ſociety for divine ſervice. This one verſe for pattern:—

For God begins to honour us,
The ſaints are marching on;
The ſword is ſharp, the arrows ſwift,
To deſtroy Babylon:
Againſt the kingdom of the Beaſt
We witneſſes do riſe, &c.

This and much more you ſhall not only, if needful, have hands for, but from us and others. Aio."

Thurloe, iii. 136.

CHAPTER VI.

THE Gaolers' Vindication ſeems to have been prepared and forwarded to *Secretary Thurloe* on the 3rd of February, 1655, in anticipation of what was to happen on the 6th. On that day *Rogers* was taken by his keeper to Whitehall, in order that he and *Oliver Cromwell* might debate face to face, and in the preſence of their reſpective adherents, whether *Rogers* was a priſoner for the cauſe of Chriſt, or whether he ſuffered as a buſy-body and evil-doer. In the debate *Kiffin*, the Anabaptiſt, and others of the Court party, interpoſed on one ſide, and ſundry obſcure Fifth-Monarchy-Men on the other.

The following account of *Cromwell's* policy towards the chief religious parties of the day—extracted from *Heath's* "Flagellum"—will perhaps help the reader to underſtand his tone in the debate with *Rogers*. But if he entertained towards the Fifth-Monarchy-Men the feelings here attributed to him, it was not until after his repeated and evidently ſincere efforts to conciliate them had proved abortive:—

"We will diſcourſe a little," ſays *Heath*, "of the preſent ſtate of religion, and what opinion *Cromwell* beſt aſpected. The orthodox Proteſtants were wholly ſuppreſſed; and yet ſome reverend perſons, as *Dr. Uſher*, the Biſhop of Armagh, and *Dr. Browning*, the Biſhop of Exeter, received ſome ſhows of reſpect and reverence from him—which he more manifeſtly boaſted in the funeral expenſes of the learned *Uſher*, and this to captate a reputation of his love to ſcholars and the meek, modeſt, and virtuous clergy. The Preſbyterian was rather tolerated than countenanced. . . . The Independents and Anabaptiſts he loved and preferred by turns, and was moſt conſtant to them, as the men that would and did ſupport his uſurpation. Only he could by no means endure the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, though by their dotages he had raiſed

himſelf to this height; and therefore *Feake* and *Rogers* were by him committed to priſon in the Caſtle of Windſor, where they continued a long while. And not only ſo, but he ſet *Kiffin* the Anabaptiſt (whom he had taken out of deſign into his favour) with his party together by the ears with *Feake's*, to the raiſing of a feud, between them — the balance of his ſecurity in the Government. The like he did between the Preſbyterian and Independent, a ſubdivided ſchiſm from the Church of England, as *Feake's* and *Kiffin's* were from Independency."

Heath's Flagellum, p. 143.

The following account of what paſſed on the 6th of February is taken from the Government newſpaper of the day, and was afterwards incorporated by *Anthony Wood* into his account of *John Rogers*:—

Athenæ Oxon. ii. 594, ed. 1721.

"*Feb.* 6, 1655.

Mr. John Rogers, priſoner at Lambeth, was this day brought before his Highneſs the *Lord Protector* at Whitehall, occaſioned by an addreſs laſt week made by ſome of his friends that had been with his Highneſs to deſire his enlargement, who being told how high a charge was againſt him, and that he was not a priſoner for the cauſe of Chriſt, but ſuffered as a buſy-body and an evil-doer, did then deſire that they might hear it debated by his Highneſs and *Mr. Rogers*, they being by, which his Highneſs conſented to, and this night he was admitted to his Highneſs with many of his friends, and being told of an high charge exhibited againſt him, *Mr. Rogers* charged them that brought it in to be drunkards and ſwearers. His Highneſs aſked him which of them? and he could not name one of them that he knew. His Highneſs preſſed him for Scripture for his actings. He ſaid the Scripture is poſitive and privative. His Highneſs aſked him which of thoſe evil Kings that he mentioned that God deſtroyed he would parallel to this preſent ſtate? to which his Highneſs having no poſitive but a privative anſwer, ſhowed what a diſproportion there is, thoſe being ſuch as laboured to deſtroy the people of God, but his work was to preſerve them

from deſtroying one another. As, if the whole power was in the Preſbyterians they would force all to their way, and they, the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, would do the like, and ſo the re-baptized perſons alſo, and his work was to keep all the godly of ſeveral judgments in peace, becauſe like men falling out in the ſtreet would run their heads one againſt another, he was as a conſtable to part them and keep them in peace. And when he cried down the National Miniſtry and National Church mentioned to be Antichriſtian, his Highneſs told him that it was not ſo, for that is to force all to one form that is National, which is not done in this Commonwealth.

Theſe are but a taſte of much more as it was repreſented to me by ſome preſent. Afterwards *Major-General Harriſon*, *Colonel Rich*, and ſome others, made addreſs to his Highneſs to deſire the releaſe of him, *Mr. Feake*, and ſome others, or to try them. His Highneſs ſhowed how he kept them from trial out of mercy, becauſe if they were tried the law would take away their lives."

"Several Proceedings in State Affairs," No. 280.

The Fifth-Monarchy-Men were very much diſſatisfied with this account of the interview between *Oliver Cromwell* and their champion, and publiſhed their verſion of the ſtory in a "Narrative" of their own. It appears on the title-page of this tract that it was "printed in the year 1654;" it muſt have been printed, therefore, within ſix or ſeven weeks at the lateſt from the day on which the interview took place. The year at that time began, not on the 1ſt of January, but on the 25th of March; according to this computation, the interview took place, not on the 6th of February, 1655, as we ſhould reckon it, but on the 6th of February, 1654, and the "Narrative" muſt have been printed in the interval between that day and the 25th of March following, when the year 1654 expired.

The following is a reprint of the original tract, except that the ſpelling has been moderniſed, and ſome parts of the introductory matter and a few words of the actual narrative have been omitted, but every ſuch caſe of omiſſion is indicated to the reader by the cuſtomary ſigns.

The Faithfull

NARRATIVE

OF

The late *Teſtimony* and *Demand*

made to *Oliver Cromwel*, and his *Powers*, on the Behalf of the

LORDS PRISONERS,

In the Name of the *Lord Jehovah* (Jeſus Chriſt,) King of *Saints and Nations*.

Publiſhed by Faithful hands, Members of Churches (out of the original Copies), to prevent miſtakes, and miſreports thereupon.

To the *Faithful Remnant* of the

Lamb, who are in this Day of *great Rebuke* and *Blaſphemy*, ingaged *againſt the BEAST and his GOVERNMENT*, eſpecially, to the *New Non-Conforming Churches*, and *Saints* in *City* and *Country*, commonly called by the *Name of Fifth Monarchy-men*.

Numb. 16. 5. *Even to morrow the Lord will ſhew who are his, and who is holy, and will cauſe him to come near to him, even him whom he hath choſen will he cauſe to come near to him: therefore take you Cenſers*, &c. Gen. 42. 16. *And ye ſhall be kept in Priſon, that your words may be proved.*

Printed in the year. 1654.

"*To the little Remnant of the Lamb againſt the Beaſt and his Government.*

An Apologetical Epiſtle to the little Remnant of the Lamb.

SOME may wonder what we mean, the meaneſt of all the flock, to be ſo public, and it may be our deareſt brethren, the Lord's Priſoners at Lambeth, Windſor, and elſewhere. . . . . But, beſides other reaſons, ſhould we be longer ſilent, the three following would fall foully upon us:—

1. For that ſome of Satan's ſurrogates, the Court penſioners and pamphleteers, have let fly many filthy lies and falſe reports about city and country, to poſſeſs them with prejudicate apprehenſions and miſinformations againſt us. . . . . This we find State policy in all hiſtories and ages, and the practice of proud tyrants, pedagogues, and perſecutors, firſt creating lies againſt the ſaints, and then bringing them into ſufferings, when once they had made them ſufficiently odious, ſo that no eye might pity them. Thus *Iſaiah* was reported for a liar, *Jeremiah* a traitor, *Daniel* a rebel, *Chriſt* a blaſphemer, *Paul* a peſtilent fellow, the Apoſtles ſtirrers up of ſedition and preachers of new laws and doctrine, and ſuch as would ſubvert all magiſtracy and miniſtry, laws and cuſtoms, and all then preſent. This principle and practice is revived again under this Government, Nero-like to enrobe the faithfulleſt of the aſſerters of the truth and teſtimony of Jeſus with bear-ſkins, then to bait them with their maſtiffs or bloodhounds, like men that will report their dogs mad when they have a mind to hang them. So, doubtleſs, the lies raiſed againſt the poor ſaints, trampled upon and traduced (now) everywhere, eſpecially the Lord's priſoners, *Mr. Feake*, *Mr. Rogers*, and others, are precurſory to ſome baſe if not bloody deſign againſt them. Therefore it is they give out that they are railers, liars, ſtirrers up of ſedition and

tumults, enemies to Government, magiſtracy, miniſtry, laws, and evil-doers and what not, as perſecutors uſe to do of old. What is pretended againſt *Mr. Rogers* may appear in what follows, who refuſed to make a full or formal reply without it were in an open court, by a juſt and legal trial, according to honeſt and known laws. Therefore, and for no other reaſon, as he declared to them in our hearing, was it that he declined to anſwer, and not becauſe he was non-pluſt, not able or afraid to anſwer, or the like, as the Court creatures, who have made it their employment for ſome days to blaze lies about, have moſt wickedly and untruly reported; but the truth is, they all ſeem to be given up over head and ears into ſtrong lies and deluſions. . . . .

2. It is and hath been, but now more than ever, ſince the Court-gloſſes have been printed and publiſhed upon it, the earneſt deſire, expectation, and indeed call of many of the ſaints to have as true a narrative of the late teſtimonies as we could publiſh . . . and knowing no other are ſo well accommodated to undertake it as ſome of us who were either ear-witneſſes or writers hereof, we reſolve to publiſh it, and therefore have compared the papers together that were taken in characters, and have given this account, which we believe is as well taken as could be in ſuch a crowd, and among ſuch interruptions, confuſions, and diſturbances, we do not ſay to every individual word, point, or circumſtance, but in all the material paſſages to the beſt of our knowledge, obſervation, or remembrance.

3. It is of ſome concernment to all the Remnant of the Woman's ſeed in city and country to know how far the Remnant in London with this teſtimony of Jeſus and Cauſe have gone and are engaged . . . . . leſt they alſo by their ſleepineſs and ſilence incur the curſe (Judges v. 23), which God forbid! For theſe and many other reaſons are we ſtirred up to this narrative, ſeeing as *Ahab* did ſend for

Micaiah (2 Chron. xviii.) to ſee if he would ſay 'Go up and proſper,' as his own prophets did ſay to him, and as *Ahab* ſaid (v. 15), 'I adjure thee ſay nothing but the truth,' which when he ſaid he would not ſuffer, but ſaid (as v. 25), 'Carry him back, put this fellow in priſon, and feed him with the bread of affliction,' ſo alſo was *Mr. Rogers* remanded to his bonds in Lambeth with more ſeverity than before, too.

Neither are we without our temptations in this little buſineſs for the Lamb. . . . We conſider how eagerly our enemies would gape for advantage againſt us, ſhould they find the leaſt miſtake, and poſſibly they will find many, for as there is no pen, ſo there is no man without erratas, yet for the truth's ſake (ſo far as the copies taken in ſhorthand and our friends have agreed in one, though we confeſs it cannot be publiſhed ſo exactly as we could wiſh, ſeeing we met with ſo much interruption, as we ſaid before) the Lord knows we have been as faithful and impartial as we could be for our lives, and we bleſs our gracious Father, we fear not what fleſh can do unto us as long as the Lord is with us, and on our ſide, and as long as we can claim protection from Jehovah our King by covenant, intereſt, privilege, and propriety (however ſome cenſure that ſit at ſtern, as if we were ignorant of the Covenant of Grace; they ſhall find it otherwiſe, by the grace of our God, ere it be long). . .

This conſcience feaſts us with very excellent viands from above, which we believe no caterer in the Court can provide their Great Maſters withal; but theirs is like to have but ſour ſauce, though it be but outlandiſh, like as when chirurgions open the dead bodies of epicures, they find many indigeſted crudities, ſo will the Ancient of Days ere long, when He ſits to anatomize, diſſect, and rip up their conſciences, find many a foul crudity—viz. the ſkulls, blood, and bones of thouſands of the ſaints to ſtick there. But the Lord have mercy upon them, for the plague is begun,

if they be not paſt recovery or true repentance. But if they be, then the righteous and holy juſt God, who is our God, will appear againſt them and their intereſt ſpeedily, powerfully, and effectually, according to all the faith, tears, and appeals of His poor worm *Jacob*, in whoſe hand we believe will be the new threſhing inſtrument viſibly, ere long. And then this contemptible teſtimony or coarſe barley-cake of truth will tumble from the *Gideon* camp and ſmite down all their tents according to the faith and prayer of Chriſt's and His poor Remnant's deſpiſed ſervants,

To do or to ſuffer, to live or to die with them in this moſt glorious though clouded, precious though perſecuted Cauſe of Chriſt Jeſus,

Hur Horton.
Chriſtopher Crayle.
Hugh Day.
Edward Grove.
John Pugh.
John Durden.
Samuel Bradley.
William Bragg.
William Medley.
Francis Young.
James Wilſon.
Daniel Ingoll.

'Lift up a banner upon the high mountain, exalt the voice unto them, ſhake the hand that they may go into the gates of the nobles. I have commanded my ſanctified ones, I have alſo called my mighty ones for mine anger, even them that rejoice in my Highneſs.' (Iſaiah xiii. 2, 3).

A Faithful Narrative to the Faithful Remnant round the Nation, the New Non-conformiſt Churches and Saints in City and Country that go under the name of Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

THE hope we have of fair weather ariſes from the Rainbow in the Cloud; though the Cloud be black, the Sun is up and looks full upon it, which hath produced divers colours, and put the poor Saints hard upon faith, groans, and prayers to make up that tremendous Judgment and dreadful Thunderbolt that muſt fall out of this black cloud, and which begins to rattle already over the heads of the preſent perſecutors, as Rev. iv. and the 5. . . . And it is well known the New Non-conformiſts round the nation are at it day and night . . . giving the Lord no reſt, and though many have been as dead as dry bones, yet they begin to gather ſinews apace now, and are like (may we ſpeak it without alaruming the New Court) to be an exceeding great army, for the Witneſſes are warm and begin to ſtir, and benumbed ſenſes by uſe get life apace, ſo that the Remnant of the Woman's ſeed are like to have their hands full, ere long, and long they think it. Among them are thoſe deſpiſed ones of the Lord that walk in fellowſhip with *Mr. Rogers*, now priſoner for the teſtimony of Jeſus at Lambeth, who after ſeveral ſolemn days and whole nights, did find it a preſent duty incumbent upon them (and preparative to future) to go to Whitehall, the revived Court, and demand the Lord's priſoners, and bear their Teſtimony againſt theſe in preſent powers, for their groſs ſins and apoſtacies; which the whole body agreed to, not one diſſenting, with a loud ſuffrage of joy and alacrity, bleſſing the Lord that they ſhould be honoured by the Lord Jeſus as to be called to this Teſtimony for his ſuffering Truth and Saints at this day.

They ſought the Lord earneſtly two whole nights herein, though the firſt night they were diſturbed by ſome rude abuſive ruffians, that ſeemed zealots for their Protector; they roughly handled, ſcurrilouſly miſcalled and abuſed ſome of the Brethren, that they hurried them away from prayer to priſon (for night-prayers are reputed dangerous and diſturbful to the Court intereſt), yet for all that they kept another night, to have directions from the throne in the management of ſo high and noble a Meſſage, and that they might not in the leaſt diſhonour the dear name of the Lord Jehovah, nor the Cauſe and Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt that now ſuffers. So after they found much of God's preſence and many ſweet promiſes to apply, and concluded unanimouſly upon the number of Twelve (which is the Lamb's number againſt the Beaſt, and the root and ſquare number of the hundred, forty-four thouſand, in Rev. xiv.) to deliver the Meſſage in truſt to *Oliver Cromwell* in perſon, in the name of the great Jehovah. And now, that God alone might have the choice of the men, another time was appointed to ſeek the Lord, and then they all agreed to take their call by lot given in the name of the Lord, ſo that after ſolemn looking up to heaven the lot was given from the lap (Prov. xvi. 33, and xviii. 18), and fell upon twelve, but (to obſerve the Lord's wiſdom) thoſe that they in their wiſdom ſhould probably and principally have pitched upon, for parts, utterance, and abilities, were by the Lord's lot put by; yet this appearing ſo undeniably to be of God, the ſame Twelve were fully ſatisfied and accepted their call. Afterward they agreed to go (every one with his Bible in his hand) upon the Meſſage of the Church. Accordingly, upon the 29th of the eleventh month, a ſolemn day of prayer was kept, and they were ſent out in the name of the Lord Jeſus. The contents of the Meſſage with which they were entruſted is as followeth:—

THE

MESSAGE

OF THE

CHURCH

To O. C. *by the Twelve.**

The Meſſage of the Twelve Brethren.

'We are ſent unto you, Twelve of us, in the name of our Lord Jeſus, and of that Church Society whereof *Mr. Rogers*, now priſoner for the Lord Jeſus at Lambeth, is overſeer in the Holy Ghoſt, although we be poor deſpiſed worms, and the weakeſt and unworthieſt of the Lord's number or of the body to which we are related, and although we be not ſo able to ſpeak as others of our Society might have been, yet after much ſeeking the Lord to be with us, and truſting in the ſtrength and name of our Lord Chriſt, by which we are come out this day, after the ſeal of ſome promiſes upon our ſpirits in the ſtrength of the anointing, we are (as well as the Lord ſhall enable us) come to deliver our Meſſage to you from the Lord; and that—

The Reaſons.

Firſt, becauſe the Lot of the Lord is caſt upon us above others.

Secondly, becauſe the Lord hath choſen the poor and

* Anthony à Wood ſays that this Meſſage was drawn up by Rogers himſelf.—*Athen. Oxon.* ii. 594.

moſt deſpiſed things to confound and appear againſt the wiſe and great ones of the world (1 Cor. i. 27).

Thirdly, becauſe we are bound to ſympathiſe with the Saints in bonds (Heb. xiii. 3) in the defence of the Goſpel (Philip. i. 7-14) and the Apoſtle blames them that ſtood not by him in his bonds (2 Tim. iv. 16), but we are reſolved by the grace of our God to own and ſtand by theſe our brethren, the faithful ſervants of the Moſt High, and true and faithful miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, who are now perſecuted and impriſoned by you and your powers.

Fourthly, becauſe the Primitive Saints, who had a Primitive Spirit (which we pray for and are in daily expectation of) ſpake boldly in the name of the Lord (James v. and the 10), and ſo muſt we to you in the plainneſs, fooliſhneſs, and ſimplicity of the Goſpel, without any politic, ſtudied, or artificial frame of words or expreſſions after the wiſdom of the world or the princes of the world (1 Cor. ii. 6, 8; 2 Cor. ii. 17); therefore it is we dare not give flattering titles to any man whoſe breath is in his noſtrils (Job xxxii. 21, 22), nor come we to make our petition to man, but to God we do, in theſe matters of our Faith and Conſcience, for which we contend this day, and for which our dear Brethren are cruelly impriſoned at Lambeth (meaning our brother *Rogers*) and Windſor (meaning *Mr. Feake*). Nota.

1. Wherefore, in the name of our Lord Jeſus, and of that whole ſociety who have entruſted us on this errand, we are to DEMAND the Lord's priſoners—thoſe priſoners of hope at Lambeth and Windſor, as due to Chriſt and His Churches, whom ye have ſo unchriſtianly rent and torn from us (we meaning the churches), and neither we nor they know for what to this day, but we are perſuaded it is for their Faith and Conſcience in the Truth and Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, againſt the foul apoſtacies and ſins of the times in profeſſours, whether in Powers, Prieſts, Armies, or others, that have caſt off the true Cauſe and Intereſt of The teſtimony.

Chriſt and have taken up the creature's inſtead thereof, which can never ſtand. This Demand we make according to Iſaiah xlii. 22; 2 Chron. xxviii. 11.

2. And laſtly, though we never yet did it in public, yet ſo long as you go on thus we dare not but join with our ſuffering brethren (viz. in what priſons ſoever) for their Conſciences and this Cauſe of Chriſt, and declare and teſtify againſt you and the reſt that adhere unto you, whether in power or out, ſo long as you are the enemies of Chriſt and His Cauſe at this day, which we muſt do with the words of truth and ſobriety, for the Lord will rend you and all up by the roots that are not plants of His own planting, and the great God will appear (ere long) to confound and deſtroy this ſpirit of perſecution, injuſtice, and tyranny, which the poor Non-conforming Saints feel ſo ſorely, and we pray you conſider that of *Aſa* (2 Chron. xvi.) though a good man and a great general and conquerour, when once he forſook the Lord, relied on an arm of fleſh, and began to impriſon the Lord's prophet, the hand of God was againſt him (and ſo on others), and ſo will His wrath be upon you and thoſe that belong to you, if you go on thus, and if God give you not a true and timely repentance of theſe great ſins, which cry day and night for vengeance againſt you and yours, and ſo do thouſands of the poor perſecuted ſaints (however you are made to believe), therefore we pray you ſee (if you will yet keep the captives of the Lord) Jer. l. 33, but mark it, *v.* 34; ſo Iſai. xxix. 20, 21; Ps. cii. 17, 20, 21; Ps. xxxvii. 32, 33, 34; Ps. lxxix. 11, and ſaith Chriſt, 'What you did unto theſe you did unto me,' and Acts ix. 'Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?' ſo ſee in Matth. xviii. 28, 30, 34; ſee *v.* 35; Iſa. xlix. 24, 25; Mal. ii. 11, 12. Now to conclude. The day of Chriſt is at hand which will ſet them free, and will, ere long, call you and all about you to judgment for all theſe things that you have done and ſuffered

In the priſon Mr. Feake, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Spittlehouſe, Col. Overton, Col. Alured, Adj.-Gen. Allen, with many others. Since that Maj.-Gen. Harriſon, Col. Courtney, Col. Rich, M. Chary, impriſoned the 16th day of this month, beſides all in other countries and Scotland thoſe there that are like to loſe their lives by bloody trials, all theſe with many others at this day ſuffering for and with the Teſtimony of a good conſcience againſt men that have betrayed the cauſe of Chriſt; others have been impriſoned, as Mr. Vavaſor Powel, Mr. Jo. Simſon, Col. Okey, &c.

to be done againſt the Lord Jeſus and all His Saints, and for all the blood of the Saints that hath been ſhed againſt this intereſt, and theſe evil things which you have ſet up again to the joy of the wicked, the grief of the godly, and reproach of pure religion and undefiled. This is the ſum of our Meſſage which we are ſent to deliver to you in the name of the Lord, and whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, we leave it with you and to your conſcience, before God, the righteous Judge of heaven and earth.'

After long waiting they obtained acceſs, and all Twelve being preſent together, one, as the mouth of them, delivered the meſſage, but the word DEMAND would not go down well, but the *Lord Cromwell* told them that *Mr. Feake* and *Mr. Rogers* ſuffered not for conſcience, but as evildoers and buſybodies in other men's matters. One of the Twelve then ſaid, 'If ſo, why were they not tried by ſome known and juſt law, and convicted for evildoers? but to keep them there in ſo long and cruel impriſonment, without ſhowing cauſe, was contrary to God's law and the juſt laws of men; beſides, they were ſick and weakly men.' But he ſaid he would put it to an iſſue, upon Friday or Tueſday (as he ſaid) *Mr. Rogers* ſhould be brought before him. On the ſixth day of this twelfth month, being the third day of the week, the brethren and ſiſters (many of them) of the Society met together, and with much difficulty got into the priſon to pray with *Mr. Rogers*, which they continued till between three and four of the clock, and then they were called away by the gaoler to go to Whitehall, according to his *Lord Protector's* order, ſo that in the name of (another) the Lord Protector of heaven and earth, the great Jehovah (whoſe face they had ſo ſolemnly and ſo often ſought for His preſence with them) *Mr. Rogers* ſet out of Lambeth along with *Harding*, his keeper, and the reſt from the Church Society (twenty brethren being the

Feb. 6 laſt, 1654 [5].

moſt) going along with him, much rejoicing as they went (according to Acts v. 41) that they were ſo honoured to be called before men for the Name, Faith, and Cauſe of Jeſus; and when they came to Whitehall Bridge others of the dear Saints of ſeveral Churches, waiting with tears, and prayers, and acclamations, partly of joy and partly of grief, to receive him, and with an unanimous ſuffrage, and ſignal tokens of love to him and to this bleſſed Cauſe he ſuffers in, they prayed the Lord's preſence to accompany him. So we paſſed by, and *Mr. Rogers* was by his Keeper carried into the chamber hard by the Council Chamber; but the keeper only had admittance into the long Gallery to give notice that the priſoner was there; but by and by he came out again and told *Mr. Rogers* and his friends that they muſt all go down again, and go through the Guard Chamber, but *Mr. Rogers* anſwered that was ſtrange, being come ſo near where the Great Man was they muſt now go down to go through the Guard Chamber and about again; but the Keeper anſwered they muſt do it, he had order for it, which he did, not in the leaſt reſiſting, but the main end was, as they found afterwards, to try whether they were ſword-proof or no. So by force *Mr. Rogers* and his friends were carried the other way back again through the Guard Chamber. Many other people flocked about them, the Keeper going foremoſt, *Mr. Rogers* and his wife next to him, and his friends following cloſe after him, until they came up to the Guard Chamber door. Immediately was the word of command given to the Guard, who, as ſoon as they ſaw them and us coming in, fell foully upon us with their ſwords and their halberds, ſaying, 'Keep back, keep back!' to which *Mr. Rogers* anſwered with all his heart he would go back, but his Keeper would not let him. We alſo ſaid if they would give us liberty we would go back as faſt as we could, but they would not hear us, but fell upon us with a word and a blow, flaſhing and ſtriking in a moſt

The harſh uſage of the poor perſecuted Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

violent manner, calling us rogues, damned rogues, and evacuating the moſt venomous words in their bellies, &c. but we told them not one of us had a weapon, but the Bible in their hands ſome had, and ſo we told them; but ſome ſaid the ſword of the Spirit would be too hard for them one day, which occaſioned them to be the more violent, who ſtruck (to chooſe) at their Bibles, hands, and heads, and ſo followed them, fighting, ſlaſhing, and beating the poor naked Chriſtians all the way into the court again, and there laying about them too, and ſaying they cared not for their Bibles, ſtill inculcating, inſulting, and calling us damned rogues and curſed dogs, and the like; but *Mr. Rogers* and two or three more were ſhut in among their ſwords, whiles the reſt of the brethren were kept without in the court, and did with very much patience bear all their railings, reproachings, ſcoffs, ſcorns, flouts, jeers, and injuries offered them all the while by the ſoldiers and others of the Court Creatures. In the mean time *Mr. Rogers* with two or three more were brought into the Chamber of Henry the Eighth, where were many gentlemen of the Court complexion, ſome excuſing the aforeſaid violence and aſſault, ſaying it was by accident, to which he anſwered he conceived it not, but that it was rather a plot, and for aught he knew there might be a deſign to murder ſome or other, for the word was given to fall on, and it is conceived by moſt that they did it on purpoſe to raiſe us to a mutiny, that ſo they might have had, at leaſt in appearance or pretence, ſome (or a more juſt) cauſe againſt *Mr. Rogers* and his friends in Church fellowſhip with him, for the Guardians confeſs they did but as they were commanded. Whilſt ſome were excuſing this affront put upon Chriſt and His perſecuted Churches, others ſaid it was good enough for us, and it was pity we were not worſe uſed than we were. *Mr. Rogers* in the interim was talking with others, and two of the Guard told him how ſorry they were their fellows

were ſo rough, and drew their ſwords, ſlaſhing ſo fiercely, and what a mercy it was no more miſchief was done, ſeeing they had the command given them to do what they did, and that it was the readineſs of ſome amongſt them againſt us, eſpecially the outlandiſh. There was a ſhort diſcourſe between *Mr. Rogers* and ſome others.

A. S. 'Why did you come up there?'

Nota.

Mr. R. 'We were ſent for and commanded to come, yea, brought by force upon you, and by your Maſter's command, who fell a ſlaſhing us with your ſwords, ſo that it is probable it was a deſign againſt us on purpoſe, elſe why ſhould peaceable men that had no kind of weapons in their hands or about them, without ſword or ſtaff, but only the Bibles with us—poor naked men and women—be forced by order and command to come before your Maſter, and be thus abuſed, affronted, ſlaſhed, and driven into dangers? But the Lord is righteous, who will judge.'

W. F. 'But why came you with ſo many?'

Ro. 'We were ſent for and commanded, and thoſe that came are Chriſtians and Church members, no ways uncivil or diſorderly.'

A. S. 'Well, it's well it was no worſe.'

Ro. 'It was the Lord that made it ſo, in whoſe name we came; and He hath delivered us from your fury and the rage of the ſword, for they ſtruck with rage, fury, and high purpoſe to do more miſchief than they did, but it is Heb. xi. "By faith they obtained promiſes, eſcaped the edge of the ſword, &c." and ſo have we eſcaped yours, though ſome do bear the mark; but the Lord Jeſus will reward them when He comes.

For ſo it was to the late King and his Court, where his Meſſengers and Guardmen

And you ſee, gentlemen, your ſword cuts bluntly, and doth little execution upon the poor Fifth-Monarchy-Men, though they be but naked and unarmed; but it may be this buſineſs will be ominous to you in this place.'

fell upon the Citizens with their ſwords at the Gate, there was his blood ſhed.

A. S. 'We wonder to ſee ſo many women, and what they meant.'

Ro. 'And are ye ſo fearful? It may be it is true, then, what we hear, that the barking of a dog lately running about the yard gave you a very great alarm, ſeeing the ſight of a few women hath frighted you ſo pitifully as to draw your ſwords upon them and hurt them. Alas! poor hearts! you are pitifully affrighted, it ſeems. What would you have done, then, at the ſight of weapons, if a few white aprons makes you fly to your ſwords and halberds?'

But by and by came a Gentleman Meſſenger to *Mr. Rogers*, ſaying that his Lord was at leiſure to ſpeak with him, but the keeper at the door ſuffered none to go in with him ſave whom they liſted. One of the Twelve that was ſent for, going in with *Mr. Rogers*, a Guardman ſtanding by took him by the ſhoulders in a very hoſtile manner and tore his cloak off his back and abuſed him. But *Mr. Rogers* and three or four more went into the chamber where their Great Maſter was, to whom ſome of his Court ſycophants had told ſuch tales as they uſed to do to juſtify themſelves, and complained firſt, which is the Machiavellian policy and principle, as if we had intended a tumult, which was a thing our ſouls abhorred, and a moſt impudent untruth, for there was not one had a weapon or ſtaff with them, or ſpake one uncivil word; but after *Mr. Rogers* with three or four more were brought into the room by *Serjeant Dendy*, the Great Man had with him two gentlemen more, who ſtood by the fire-ſide, and a piſtol lay prepared at the window where he himſelf at firſt was. Then he came to the fireſide in great majeſty, without moving or ſhowing the leaſt civility of a man, though all ſtood bare to him and gave reſpect. By and by he ſpake, and bid one call in two or three more of the Church Society, or of the Twelve that had been with him before, when the DEMAND was made. Whiles they were gone for them ſaith he,—

O. C. 'I ſent for ſome of you, *Mr. Rogers* and ſome more of the Church; but you bring with you about two hundred and fifty men to make tumults and riſings, therefore ſend them away, or I will not ſpeak one word.' To which *Mr. Rogers* anſwered, and to give him a civil reſpect, ſaid, 'My Lord'—

Ro. 'You are ruled much by informations which you take upon the reports of them about you, whether true or falſe, which brings the Lord's people into ſo much trouble by you, but there is no ſuch matter.'

O. P. 'Ha! You will talk, I ſee, although it be nothing to purpoſe. Who ſpeaks to you?' With that he turns to one of his Creatures, ſaying, 'What ſay you—is there not ſo many?'

Servant. His ſervant anſwered, 'Yes, and it pleaſe your Highneſs, there's above an hundred below, and it is to be feared they might have made a tumult.'

Ro. 'If they muſt be believed, they muſt. Yet this I may ſay, I think there are not thirty men that belong to us; and beſides, they are all peaceable Chriſtians, related to us in the faith of the Goſpel, all unarmed, apprehending your order and command to reach them, and they are only thoſe with us as have been this day together ſeeking the face of the Lord, and now, according to your order, at four o'clock attending here.'

The Room fills with the Courtiers.

But by this time company was coming in apace into the room at both doors, but all were Court Creatures, to the number of fourſcore or more, as we conceive, either of the Council, army men, lawyers, and councillors, or of his creatures that were his miniſters, or new made gentlemen, or the like; but not one of them related to *Mr. Rogers* or that Church Society, till at laſt, with much ado, two or three more were crowded in of them; but all the reſt were left waiting below in the yard, abuſed, ſcoffed, hiſſed and hooted at by ſome of the ſoldiers, as will appear by and by.

O. P. 'I promiſed to ſend for you, for ſome of your

friends came and ſpake ſharply to me, as if I had apoſtated from the Cauſe of Chriſt, and perſecuting godly Miniſters, naming *Mr. Rogers* and *Mr. Feake*, and ſpake other things that were ſharp enough. You might have had patience in your words. Now you have liberty to ſpeak to thoſe things, but do not abuſe your liberty. You told me *Mr. R.* ſuffered for the Goſpel. I told you he ſuffered as a Railer, as a Seducer, and a Buſybody in other men's matters, and a Stirrer up of Sedition, which rulers, led by juſt principles, might ſuppreſs. I told you *Mr. Rogers* ſuffered juſtly, and not for the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt; and, indeed, in ſome degree it is blaſphemy to call ſuffering for evil-doing ſuffering for the Goſpel; and if he ſuffers for railing, and deſpiſing thoſe that God hath ſet over us, to ſay this his ſuffering is for the Goſpel, is making Chriſt the patron of ſuch things; but if it were ſuffering for the Goſpel ſomething might have been ſaid, yet not ſo much as ſaying uncharitably he ſuffered for evil-doing; ſo that I ſay this is the thing in Scripture, and if we ſhow you that you ſuffer for tranſgreſſion, then you abuſe that Scripture, which I have often thought on, that it is "to make a man an offender for a word." I wiſh it were better underſtood in the plainneſs of the ſpirit, for (to interpret that Scripture) it was the evil of thoſe times, which was to lie in wait for words on purpoſe to catch at words without actions, and that is a ſin; but ſome words are actions, and words are conjugal with actions, for actions and words are as ſharp as ſwords, and ſuch things I charge you with, and you ſuffer not for the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt. I ſpeak—God is my witneſs—I know it, that no man in England does ſuffer for the Teſtimony of Jeſus. Nay, do not lift up your hands and your eyes, for there is no man in England which ſuffers ſo. There are thoſe that are far better than *Mr. Rogers*, though compariſons are not good, and not near his principles, yet if they ſhould ſuffer

He begins his long ſpeech with manifeſt reproaching and manifold untruths.

And is it not the evil of theſe times? ſo that he is condemned out of his own mouth, as in Luke xix. 22.

It ſeems when he ſaid ſo, "he called God to witneſs," Mr. Rogers lifted up his hand, and his eyes appealing to

witneſs alſo, at which poſture he was offended.

for the Teſtimony of Jeſus: But there is ſuch liberty, I wiſh it be not abuſed, that no man in England ſuffereth for Chriſt, and it is not your fancy, you muſt bring ſtrong words to acquaint me of your ſharp expreſſions.'

After he had ſpake, and all were ſilent, *Mr. Rogers* deſired to know of him whom he expected to reply, whether himſelf or ſome other—the anſwer to, 'Who would.'

Rogers. 'Do you expect me to anſwer? I will premiſe this, before I ſpeak further. I have been twenty-ſeven weeks a priſoner (my brother *Feake* above a year), and there hath been no charge againſt me; but now I am brought before you, I deſire to know in what capacity I ſtand before you—as a Priſoner, or as a Freeman; as a Chriſtian to a Chriſtian, with equal freedom that others have, or as a ſlave?'

O. P. 'A Priſoner is a Freeman, as Chriſt hath made you free, and ſo you are a Freeman.'

Ro. 'It's true, indeed, my Lord; and yet I muſt ſay, as ſome gentlemen here preſent know I did before I was impriſoned, and when they would have had me meet in Coleman Street to diſcourſe our principles upon which we ſuffer, that it is unreaſonable to deſire it at the diſadvantages we meet with, ſeeing they who are our antagoniſts have the advantage of a law new made, which they call an "Ordinance of Treaſon," to laſh us with, as a maſter hath a rod in his hand overawing his ſchoolboys; ſo that it is a very unjuſt and unequal thing that they ſhould ſpeak as freemen and we as ſlaves under an overawing; but if that law be repealed, though but pro tempore, during ſuch debates, and we be reſtored to our juſt and equal liberty with the adverſaries, ſo as to engage on even ground, we are ready to argue it with them when and where they will; but till then it is unreaſonable, for every word we ſpeak may be a ſnare to us.'

Mr. Rogers told him that Ordinance making Treaſon for words was ſuch as Queen Mary herſelf, as bloody as ſhe was, would abhor, as appears in Hollinſhed in the firſt year of her reign, which made

O. P. 'I know not what ſnare may be in this. Are you

ſo afraid of ſnares? What need you fear, that will ſpeak ſo boldly?'

Ro. 'I bleſs the Lord I fear them not, nor the force of any men or devils, in theſe matters of my Faith and Conſcience, for which I ſuffer; yet I ſhould be loath to run into ſnares, which diſputes have been to the people of God; for *Stephen*, (Acts vi.) before he was tried for his life, he was firſt enſnared by diſputes and then brought to the Council, tried and arraigned for his life, and they murdered and deſtroyed him. And in *Queen Mary's* days, before they put any to death, they began it cunningly with enſnaring diſcourſes in the Convocation houſe, and ſo gathered matter to take their lives away and murder them.'

their tyranny worſe than the Roman tyranny.

O. P. 'You are afraid of ſnares and advantages taken for your life, when there is no ſuch a thing; but I tell you, upon your friends' Petition I ſent for you, to ſatisfy them you ſuffer as an evil-doer.'

That they ſeemed to do all this in juſtice and by appeal and free courts. At this they were vexed, and look on one another.

Ro. 'Say you ſo, my Lord? that is more than ever I heard before. Nor dare I take this liberty upon that account of Petitioning for it; but that I believe the Lord will help me by his own Spirit to anſwer, as indeed I have not ſtudied a form of words for you, though you have prepared matter againſt me, I hear; but I am, in the ſtrength of the Anointing, ready to anſwer.'

O. P. 'Ah, we know you are ready enough.'

O. was troubled at that word, and ſaid, Preparation! ha! what! but it is well known what for ſeveral days were the informations (ſome lay on

Ro. 'Yea, although I have made no other preparation than faith in the promiſes, however ſome may ſcoff at them, yet I have, I bleſs the Lord, the comfort of them, and hope

the table) a gathering againſt him; and the priſoners put in for plotting had by one Meazy a charge to get all their papers ready upon the 30th day of the 11th month laſt, who were very buſy to get them, and are we hear a gathering more; for when Mr. Rogers is forced to preach out at the window to the members of the church and thoſe that come to hear him, theſe wicked and bloody beaſt-like men have liberty to come into a room under him to write what they can catch or forge or patch together, though all the week long they are in another room at the further end of the houſe day and night, ſinging, ſwearing, ranting, fiddling, blaſpheming, day and night, to go out in the night, yea without a Keeper, to carry on the deſign.

I ſhall have the benefit of that promiſe which I have the ſeal of in my heart, in Matt. x.—"Take no care what to ſay, for in that hour ſhall it be given unto you;" therefore I doubt not but to ſpeak to you and them about you in the name of the Lord Jeſus, and in the demonſtration of his Holy Spirit.' (He was interrupted).

O. P. 'Take heed you do not abuſe the Scripture. If you be ſuch a diſciple, then that promiſe ſhall be made good unto you, and then you may ſay you ſuffer for Chriſt.'

Ro. 'I doubt not but that will appear that I am His diſciple who made me that promiſe; and if we be not able to make it out to unbiaſſed men that we ſuffer for Chriſt and a good conſcience, by God's holy word, then chop off my head. But indeed, my Lord, we can clear it to all the world, would they hear us, and not handle us ſo roughly as you do; for we have had a very dangerous paſſage to you this day, an "ardua via" through ſwords and halberds.'

O. P. 'Indeed?' (ſays he in a ſcoff); 'and I pray who was wounded?'

Ro. 'It was a mercy there were no more hurt, though many were bruiſed, beaten, and hurt, and among others my wife; but who the reſt be, as yet I know not.'

O. P. 'No, ſo I think! But I have no time to diſpute thoſe things.'

Ro. 'Why, then I ſay, as I ſaid before, my way muſt be clear before I can proceed further; for if they *Petitioned* I have done, and dare not anſwer a word on that ground, becauſe I repreſent thouſands of the poor Saints, who are one with me in this Cauſe, whoſe truſt I cannot, I dare not betray.'

O. P. 'Then we have done: for I tell you you came here by a deſire. I told them I would put it to the iſſue this meeting, and that I would prove it you ſuffered for evil-doing.'

Ro. 'That will not be ſo eaſily done. But, my Lord, I

ſpeak as, I hope, I am a civil man, and in ſome meaſure a rational man, and I truſt through grace I am a Chriſtian, nor doth Chriſtianity deſtroy civility; and yet I muſt ſay again, that [if] I came hither by the deſire or requeſt of my friends, I ſhall not, I will not ſpeak a word any farther than to tell you my reaſons. For I would not have any friend *Petition* for me, wherein and to whom I cannot with a good conſcience Petition for myſelf. Now, in the matters of faith and truth, for which we ſuffer, we cannot Petition to you, for we are not debtors to man but to God, who is the lawgiver and only proper judge therein, and therefore we Petition to the Lord Jehovah our Judge. Then, 2. If they did ſo, they did not anſwer the truſt the Church whereto they are related repoſed in them; for it was ſet upon their hearts as an incumbent point of duty to Chriſt and his Churches to make *Demand* of the Lord's priſoners in the name of the Lord Jeſus, whom you and your powers have ſo unchriſtianly, and indeed with worſe than Roman tyranny, rent and torn from the Churches; ſo that if they made a *Petition* to you I am ſilent, and ſhall ſay no more, as I ſaid before.'

Brother C. (one of the Twelve). 'I ſhall lay open the whole ſtate of the buſineſs, for we are entruſted with a Meſſage from our Society, and did but according to our truſt make the Demand and bear our Teſtimony, and made no requeſt at all to you; but when you ſaid our brother *Rogers* ſuffered as an evil-doer, we ſaid then, Why do you not make it appear? and you ſaid you would on Friday or Tueſday, and this was all.'

O. C. 'Well! who ſays it is more? Who ſays you Petitioned? I told you he ſuffered as an Evil-doer, as a Railer, as a Seducer.'

Ro. 'But your words are not proofs, my Lord. But yet, ſeeing my way is more clear now, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat more; there is no law of God nor yet of man that makes

me ſuch an offender but yours, which is worſe than the Roman law and tyranny, that makes a man a Traitor for words.'

See their Ordinance for Treaſon.

O. P. 'Who calls you a Traitor? I call you not. See, I believe you ſpeak many things according to the Goſpel, but you ſuffer for evil doing.'

Ro. 'The Goſpel of the Kingdom may occaſionally be ſo accounted and judged; for, as Chriſt our Saviour ſaith "I came not to ſend peace but the ſword," the doctrine of Chriſt by the powers of the world hath ever been reputed ſedition, railing, lying, and ſpeaking evil of dignities.'

O. P. 'I grieve that you call this the Goſpel; for every one is ready to come and ſay, This is the Goſpel, with words in their mouths, and ſay this is the meaning of the Scripture; but there wants the power of godlineſs, for Chriſt and his diſciples will not ſpeak evil of no man.'

Ro. 'Yea, they did ſpeak againſt ſinners as ſinners, which is no evil-ſpeaking. But who made you the judge of the Scriptures, my Lord? Whatever you ſay, it ſhall never appear, I truſt, to the Saints or unbiaſſed diſcerning men that I ſuffer as an evil-doer. Whatever you ſay or ſuppoſe, I can make it appear it is an eſſential fundamental principle of faith, which is now under perſecution, and for which we ſuffer, viz. the Kingly Office of Chriſt; and thoſe that deny that truth, for and in which we ſuffer, are indeed heretics, and not we. It is true this preſent Teſtimony for Chriſt's Kingly Intereſt hath two parts, viz. the poſitive and the privative; now, for the laſt it is we ſuffer, and not for evil-doing.'

What the teſtimony is they ſuffer in.

O. P. 'Why, who will hinder your preaching the Goſpel of Chriſt—yea, His Perſonal Reign? who will hinder? You ſpeak of high notions, but you do not preach the Goſpel to build up ſouls in Chriſt.'

How knows he that? for he hears him not preach.

Ro. 'I know, my Lord, that you are a Sophiſter. And ſo it ſeems, for a part of the truth we may preach, but not

With that the officers and them preſent

the whole, not the Goſpel of the Kingdom preached for a witneſs, as Matt. xxiv. 14, to witneſs againſt the crying ſins of men in power or out of power; for that ſeems to ſtrike at your intereſt too much.'

O. P. 'Why, what intereſt is mine?'

Ro. 'A worldly intereſt, which God will deſtroy.'

O. P. 'Ha!——And do you judge me?'

Ro. 'Yea, by the word of the Lord, in the majeſty, might, ſtrength, power, vigour, life, and authority of the Holy Ghoſt I can, do, and dare judge you and your actions (1 Cor. ii.): "The ſpiritual man judgeth all things, whilſt he himſelf is judged of no man." Beſides, I am called by the Holy Ghoſt, which hath appointed me to preach the Goſpel, to judge ſins.'

O. P. 'And who will hinder you to preach the Goſpel or to do ſo—ſpeak againſt ſin as much as you will.'

Ro. You do from preaching that part of the Goſpel which decries the public ſins of the times, or of men in powers, armies, &c. Neither is it, as you ſay, a railing, lying, or ſpeaking evil of dignities; for the word railing, in Jude 9, is βλασφημία. Now this is no blaſphemy, to ſpeak the truth, or againſt evils; nor is it railing to call a man as he is. To call a drunkard a drunkard is no railing . . . . to call a thief a thief, to call an apoſtate an apoſtate, is no railing; but to call one ſo that is not ſo is railing.'

O. P. 'To call an honeſt man a thief is railing. . . Though I do know you have truths of Chriſt in you, yet I will prove you ſuffer for railing, lying, and as a raiſer of ſedition; and I told them that I would have you ſent for to ſatisfy them.'

Ro. 'If that you ſay can be made to appear, it is fit I ſhould ſuffer; but, as *Reygnold* ſaid, "Nihil eſt quin male interpretando poſſit depravari.'"

O. P. 'This will appear in the informations that are upon the table there, what a railer you are; and therefore

ſcoffed, and ſome gnaſhed with their teeth at the priſoner.

let them be read,' (ſays he to ſome by him) 'for there be many of them: the witneſſes and the evidences all are ready, it will appear eaſily, and out of the priſon ſuch informations, evidences there are brought in, let them be read.'

What ſort of informers will ſerve againſt Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

Ro. 'Your informations will not make it appear ere the more to juſt men. I looked to have had a fair trial, or a Chriſtian debate. But this is otherwiſe, ſeeing men that are hired or any other ways baſely ſuborned do inform againſt me. As for them out of priſon, it is a ſign that your cauſe is not very good, that needs ſuch informers as the priſoners at Lambeth. They are ſuch as you yourſelf have put in for plotting againſt you, leſt they ſhould cut your throat, and of whom you yourſelf have ſaid, in your laſt ſpeech, that they differed little from Beaſts; and yet you can take their informations againſt me,—yea, drunkards, ſwearers . . . Cavaliers, ranters, any men that make nothing to lye, ſwear, drink, curſe, ban . . . and blaſpheme day and night, and what not? And yet theſe muſt inform againſt me, to take away my life. Theſe are but bad evidences, my Lord; and beſides, were they honeſt men, it were illegal.'

He ſaid there was no ſuch word in his ſpeech, but ſee it, p. 13: "It is ſome ſatisfaction, if a Commonwealth muſt periſh, that it periſh by men and not by the hands of perſons" (ſpeaking of the plotters) "differing little from beaſts."

O. P. 'Nay, they are honeſt, godly men, that mourn over you, and that are troubled for you, that will witneſs theſe things againſt you.'

Meaning now another paper of informations of what was preached at Thomas Apoſtle's, that alſo lay upon the table with the other out of Lambeth Priſon.

Ro. 'I hardly believe honeſt men will accept of ſuch an office, to inform againſt the poor people of God, and to ſeek the blood of any one of Chriſt's little ones; but I rather believe they are ſome of your hired men, who ſeek for any ſtuff to gratify your ears. But might I but ſtand on even ground, with equal freedom, I would undertake to any unbiaſſed Chriſtian to make it appear that the ſubject matter of our ſuffering [is] for the Truth and Teſtimony of Jeſus, our infirmities excepted, which the Lord knows are many, and therefore we muſt overcome by the blood of the Lamb and the word of the Teſtimony (Rev. xii.)'

O. P. 'Nay, but I know you well enough, I know you, and what your principle is too, I know that you never preached the Covenant of Grace, yea, I know it, I have had ſome diſcourſe with you formerly, I know you are ignorant of the Covenant, nay, for all your lifting up your eyes, it is ſo.'

At whoſe confidence Mr. Rogers with admiration lifted up his eyes and hands.

Ro. 'That is ſtrange you ſhould judge ſo. My condition were uncomfortable then, indeed, if I did not know the Covenant of Grace, yea, fruition, whiles it may be ſome have a national, diſciplinary, or barely intuitive knowledge, there be many can teſtify whether I am ſo ignorant or no of the Covenant of Chriſt, who have been my hearers long ago. It is for a branch, yea a principal branch of the New Teſtament Covenant that we are perſecuted (as Acts ii. 30), viz. that part that God hath ſworn unto, to exalt Chriſt over all His enemies, and to make Him King over all Nations. This Covenant of the Father to the Son makes us grapple with the Beaſt, and conteſt ſo as we do with the powers of the world, though others are ignorant of the Covenant.'

This being ſpoken in ſuch confuſion of others and the Great Man's heat together, he was hardly heard, but only of them who ſtood nigh and wrote. One of his courtiers made anſwer, but he went on in his heat.

O. P. 'Nay, I tell you, I know you well enough, and I know your principles; though you are but a young man, yet you have been in many places, and are known well enough.'

Ro. 'Yea, I am, ſo I hope, known of Chriſt too; and amongſt other places, I have been in the Field too againſt the common enemies, that are now gotten ſo high again, where I think I have done more for nothing, in mere conſcience for the Lord Chriſt's ſake (never ſeeking wages as your mercenary men), than any of your colonels can ſay.'

Raiſing men, arming himſelf and others, engaging in the field in England and Ireland, ſpending his eſtate, killing his cattle for the army freely, expoſing his perſon to great dangers freely.

O. P. 'You talk of that is nothing to the purpoſe.'

Kiffin. 'I cannot ſee, my Lord, there will be any danger to have thoſe papers read. We deſired to hear how it appears that *Mr. Ro.* ſuffers as an evil-doer; and if it pleaſe your Highneſs, let thoſe informations be read that are

brought in there, that we may hear how it appears as your Highneſs ſays.'

O. P. 'Ah! ſo I ſay. Let them be read.'

Which gentleman was Mr. Kiffin, who ſince with ſome of his members hath ſlandered him behind his back.

Ro. 'My Lord, that gentleman ſpake very ſmoothly, but we know now by experience the greateſt ſnares are couched under the ſmootheſt words; ſo there is a great ſnare in his, for he deſires them to be read, that they may judge thereby whether I be an evil-doer or not, ſo that I thank the gentleman for his charity. He ſeems beforehand reſolved to judge me according to them, whether right or wrong, true or falſe, or whatever they be, and whoever informs, and whether they can be proved or no againſt me. But I perceive by him he is ſome mercenary man, that hath ſome dependence upon you, and from ſuch I look for no other. But the moſt, my Lord, that can be ſaid againſt me is but an evil ſpeaker (which, by God's aſſiſtance, I truſt in this matter ſhall never be proved againſt me neither) and not an evil-doer, for notwithſtanding your former words, I can prove that the very heathens themſelves abhorred to make words matter of fact as you do.'

Mark it out of his own mouth.

O. P. 'It is matter of fact you are queſtioned for, for ſpeaking evil of authority, raiſing falſe accuſations; for if they were as *Nero* you are not to ſpeak evil of them, for what hath the Devil his name for, but becauſe he is an accuſer of the brethren; and it is not for your good deeds you are puniſhed, for what ſaith Chriſt, "for which of my good deeds do you puniſh me?" and ſo you ſay, but you ſhall hear if theſe be read, whether it be for your good deeds or for evil doing.'

Ro. 'And as they anſwered Chriſt then, ſo do you us: it was not for his good deeds they would ſtone him, but for his blaſphemy, and ſo pretended to do it legally, for the law would have a blaſphemer ſtoned; but that which they called blaſphemy was indeed the truth and good, and ſo it is now; what you call evil is good, and the Devil, my Lord,

hath his name from calumniating, ſlandering, and lying, and accuſing the good, or grace of God, but not for accuſing evil or declaring againſt ſin, the evils of Apoſtacy, perſecution, or the like. But if you will read the articles you may, yet expect not a word of anſwer from me, unleſs it be in an open and legal court, before a competent and fit judge, which you are not, my Lord, nor thoſe about you; but thoſe things which are my due right granted, I am ready to anſwer them in Weſtminſter Hall, where I believe the Lord's Remnant, who are one with me in this Cauſe, will ſtand by me; and at laſt you can have but a poor carcaſe, that is every day dying; yet I am reſolved with the help of God not to throw away my life, nor to betray this bleſſed Cauſe ſo as to anſwer to I know not what ſpurious and forged informations or charge in a chamber, grounded on malice or that which is worſe; nor will I be tried in hugger-mugger, but if I have offended, it is fit I have open juſtice.'

So that the accuſer of the good and grace of God is on that ſide by the informers and perſecutors.

O. P. 'Who tries you? and who ſays it is a charge? Who calls it a charge? I ſay not ſo; and ſee! before you hear them you call them ſpurious.' (With that he takes up one that was titled from Lambeth, and was going to read ſomewhat).

R. 'Yea, and I have good grounds ſo to do, ſeeing they come from ſuch kind of informers as they are.'

One Abdy, the chief informer, that very day he came with his Keeper to look for his reward, he was ſtabbed in Fleet Street, being impriſoned for Blaſphemy, Adultery, Ranting, Atheiſm, and the moſt horrid ſins that ever were heard of.

(Then *O. P.* read one article from Lambeth, as that he ſhould call him, *Oliver Cromwell*, that great dragon that ſits at Whitehall, pull him out, &c.)

Ro. 'There is ſuch ſtuff as I abhor to have in my mouth, but I ſhall forbear to anſwer, for that it is not worth the anſwering to.'

O. P. 'Theſe things will be proved.'

Brother H. (one of the Twelve) 'We deſire the things our brother *Rogers* ſuffers for may be publicly known to all, for we apprehend he ſuffers for the truth, and the things which you hear you may be miſinformed in.'

Ro. 'Therefore let me have a fair hearing in a legal court; and I hope the Lord will make me ready for whatever I muſt ſuffer, right or wrong, if it muſt be ſo. But yet, I tell you, my Lord, I fear not anything that you can lay againſt me juſtly and honeſtly, but the truth is you take up anything that your informers can handſomely patch together, who, like the Devil, take a bit here and a bit there, that makes for their turn, and you take it as it lies, for granted preſently. O, my Lord, I cannot but mourn for you and your condition, which is ſad and to be bewailed, and the rather for that you have ſo many about you who for their own ends to get the world into their hands do deceive you; but the Lord will judge righteouſly, ere long, I am ſure, and let appear whether you or we have the beſt bottom to bear us up, for I bleſs the Lord the comforter is with me. I think my condition, through Grace, though a poor priſoner, a great deal better than yours; I would not change with you.'

O. P. 'Well, well, you are known well enough, and what ſpirit you are of. We know you, and to call your ſufferings for Chriſt when they are for evil-doing is not well; yea, it is Blaſphemy; yea, I ſay Blaſphemy again, for all your lifting up of your eyes, and I tell you, yea, you, that in a good box of ointment a little thing—a dead fly—may ſpoil all, yea, a little fly.'

Mr. Rogers, amazed at ſuch language, again lifted up his hand and eyes towards heaven, appealing to God to judge righteouſly.

Ro. 'I dare not, my Lord, juſtify myſelf in my infirmities, but I bleſs the Lord I can apply Chriſt's merits. I beſeech you, ſpeak not ſo reproachfully of the Spirit of God to call it fanatic, or an evil ſpirit, for that is Blaſphemy ſo to do (and ſee Iſai. lxiii. 10), neither call evil good or good evil, for that is prevarication (Iſai. v. 20), that which you judge evil-doing the Lord judgeth well-doing and my duty. Yet I muſt tell you, the Lord never made you a judge over our faith, nor of His Scripture, whereof you take upon you.'

O. P. 'Well, you know that the time was there was no great difference betwixt you and me. I had you in my eye, and did think of you for employment (and preferment); you know it well enough.'

Ro. 'True, my Lord; and then you could ſay to me you thought no man in England ſo fit, but ſince the caſe is altered indeed; but I pray conſider who it is is changed. Surely, it muſt be Conſcience that makes me ſuffer, then, through ſo many temptations as I have met with. And I have often ſaid, let me be convinced by good words that I am an evil-doer, as you ſaid, and I would lay my neck under your feet for mercy; but till then I muſt keep my Conſcience.'

One of the Grandees (as we take it it was *G. Deſborough*) ſays, 'Let the informations be read, let them be heard;' and then *Scobell* was called to read them, not thoſe from Lambeth, but thoſe that were brought in from Thomas Apoſtle's, from what *Mr. Rogers* prayed, what he preached, and what they ſang in hymns. What he prayed was for the priſoners of the Lord at Windſor, and againſt the tyranny of all Antichriſtian powers, and to that purpoſe, and that God would haſten his Vials out upon them. What he preached was out of Matth. v.—'Agree with thine adverſary (Chriſt) quickly,' and he obſerved, 'Apoſtate-adulterate profeſſors muſt agree quickly with Chriſt, their adverſary,' applying it to the preſent Powers as ſuch, proving they break the Ten Commandments. As the 1ſt. In ſetting up idols again, a golden calf; ſo the army and fleſhly ſtrength, and the like are idolized, whilſt men ſay, theſe are the gods that brought us up out of Egypt.

The informations from Thomas Apoſtle's read.

The Articles againſt Mr. Rogers as well as they could be taken.

2nd Command is,—Graven images, and ſo are the Tryers, and High Court Commiſſioners—ſuch the inventions and graven images of men's making with their ſeals, parchments, black boxes, and picklocks, padlocks and keys for your hog-ſties, pig-ſties, and gooſe-ſtalls.

Theſe Articles are many of them falſe for matter and form, as can be made appear by hundreds.

3rd Command. Take not My name in vain, &c. Such as have broke all their Declarations, Engagements, and abuſed His Attributes, uſing that name of God for their own ends, are guilty of this.

4th Command. Remember that thou keep holy the, &c. ſpeaking of ſoul-reſt, and ſaying that the preſent Powers kept not the Sabbath that reſted in their pleaſures, fleſh, &c. and not in Chriſt, but did their own work.

5th Command. Honour thy father and mother, &c. They break this Commandment in their diſobedience to God, the heavenly Father.

6th. Thou ſhalt not murder, &c. Murderers are of many ſorts—ſuch as have betrayed the blood that hath been ſhed againſt this kind of Government, &c. And then he converted his diſcourſe againſt informers that come for blood, and ſaid, to hate a brother without a cauſe is murder.

7th. Thou ſhalt not commit adultery, &c. This they did with others, as Army, Lawyer's, Prieſt's intereſt, and that which they before deſtroyed.

8th. Steal not. Now there are great thieves and little thieves (great ones are now in preſent Powers) and army thieves, clergy thieves, lawyer thieves, and the Great Thief now in Whitehall. But the other two he left to another time. When he had done he read a letter from *Mr. Feake*, where was a dialogue between him and the Governor, and then he commented upon it, and ſaid it is worſe now than it was with the Romans, for then Paul might preach, though a priſoner, but now we are denied it. After that he ſung an hymn, and the people joined with great alacrity, againſt oppreſſion and perſecution, &c.

Now is Mr. Rogers forced to preach out at the iron bars of the priſon on Lord's days.

After this information was read, *Mr. Rogers* ſaid, 'My Lord, I had a purpoſe not to anſwer one word hereto, this being no ſuitable place or time to anſwer a charge, and no witneſſes appearing againſt me to make it good; but yet I ſhall tell you this, for I will not, with the Lord's help, ſpeak

a word but what I will own to your face, for I love to appear in the ſincerity of my ſoul and conſcience for my Lord and Maſter (Jeſus Chriſt) plain to all men, and to lay open my principles, which I have no cauſe (through grace) to be aſhamed of. The matter of this is much of it true, but as to the form, there is a great deal of patching and botching put in by your mercenary hirelings which I will not own; but as to much of the matter of it, I muſt dare, and with the Lord's grace I will, though I die for it, and without you ſhould cut my tongue out of my head, I ſhall continue the Teſtimony, up and tell you, moreover, with the reſt about you here, that I regard your laws in the matters of my God no more than ſtraws, for "Imperia Divina non ſunt ſubjecta magiſtratui," ſaith one of the Martyrs; and tell you that I will not be accountable to the magiſtrate nor ſubmit to his judgment in the matters of my Faith, which the civil law can take no due cognizance of.'

One of his Council ſaid: 'Ha! Imperia Divina!'

Ro. 'So I ſay, Imperia Divina.'

O. P. Saith he, 'Are theſe ſpurious articles now? put in by drunkards and ſwearers too? . . . Are they not? Ha!—ha!—'

They would fain have ſhifted off them from Lambeth as it ſeems, as if they were aſhamed of them.

Ro. 'My Lord, I know what I ſay. Thoſe which were ſent from Lambeth put in by the priſoners there; thoſe, I ſay, are ſuch. I did not ſay all, but thoſe that I ſee there, which lie upon the table, titled from Lambeth; and beſides, there is *Serjeant Dendy* knows this that I ſay, for he himſelf (I thank him) ſent in their informations againſt me to *Mr. Thurloe*, which he cannot deny.'

S. Dendy. 'My Lord, I delivered him none.'

Ro. 'I ſay not you delivered them, but you ſent them by your man, who delivered them according to your directions.'

S. Dendy. 'But my Mother, my Lord, this was my Mother, for ſhe catechized me, my Lord, and I told her.'

Ro. 'So that is true, as I ſaid before, that thoſe from Lambeth priſon are ſpurious, wicked, and illegal.'

Mr. Cre. 'Pray, my Lord, let *Mr. Rogers* have a copy of his charge, for the law allows it him.'

O. P. 'No, this is not his trial.'

Ro. 'Why, then let me have it, as you are a Chriſtian; for is it fit I be denied a ſight of my accuſation againſt me?' (But he turned away and would not hear).

Mr. Cre. 'Then, my Lord, let us have Liberty of Conſcience. Will you not give us ſo much liberty as the Parliament gave?'. (With that he turned about in anger).

He confeſſed that Anti-chriſt's Government is now up in England yet, ſo that no wonder the Priſons are ſo full of precious ſaints.

O. P. 'I tell you there was never ſuch Liberty of Conſcience, no, never ſuch liberty ſince the days of Antichriſt as is now—for may not men preach and pray what they will? and have not men their liberty of all opinions?'

Ro. 'It is true there is liberty enough, and too much too, for drunkards, ſwearers, and men of vile debauched principles and evil lives, Common-prayer men, and ſuch like, we know, round the nation.' (Then his creatures about him ſcoffed).

O. P. 'Ha!—are drunkenneſs, ſwearing, opinions then?'

Ro. 'I ſay not ſo, but I ſay ſuch men may have their opinions, whilſt we are perſecuted for the truth. But why do you not, my Lord, let out my brother *Feake* at Windſor with myſelf? Seeing we ſuffer in one Cauſe, for one Teſtimony, and I truſt by one Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, let us both out to anſwer for ourſelves jointly together, and to make it appear to all unintereſted Chriſtians that we are no evil-doers in the matter we ſuffer for; which if we do not, then let us ſuffer.'

O. P. '*Mr. Feake!* truly, *Mr. Feake!* I think leſs evil may be ſaid of him than of you; but there are many of different opinions that come to me, and they know they have all their liberty of their opinions.'

Ro. 'Yea, every man almoſt that talks with you is apt

to think you of his opinion, my Lord, whatever he be.' (His creatures ſcoffed again).

O. P. 'Nay, you do not,' (ſaith he in anger. His creatures ſcoffed and laughed again).

But ſome of that opinion do as Mr. T. G. and others.

Ro. 'Some of this judgment do think you ſo, although, as I ſaid before, the privative or negative part of the Teſtimony you cannot bear.'

O. P. 'Piſh! here is a great deal of poſitive and privative to ſhow you are a Scholar, and 'tis well known what you are. And where do you find that diſtinction?'

Ro. 'In logic.'

O. P. 'Ha!'

They thought Mr. Rogers to be an antic, becauſe he ſpake in power and great zeal.

Ro. 'I muſt tell you in the name of the Lord Jehovah that your condition is very deſperate, and if you conſult the holy oracles you will find it; for the next Vial which is to be poured out is the ſcorching hot one, and muſt fall upon the Apoſtate profeſſors, that have forſaken and betrayed the Cauſe of Chriſt. And look to it, it is like to fall heavy upon your heads and thoſe that are about you; I pray think of that in Hoſea i. 4—the blood of *Jezreel* ſhall be upon the houſe of *Jehu*—though *Jehu* did obey the Lord in doing juſtice on *Ahab* and *Jezebel*; yet becauſe he fell into the ſame predicament of ſin, walking in the ſame ſteps of evil which *Ahab* walked in, the very blood of them fell upon his head.'

O. P. 'Your ſpirit is to judge, but I regard not your words; look you to your conſcience, and I will look to mine. Yet for that of *Jehu*, why, what was that for? It was for fear leſt the people ſhould go back again to the houſe of *David* and to Jeruſalem.' (And ſo he was running into the ſtory of *Jeroboam*, but he was corrected. Then *Kiffin* ſaid 'It is ſo;' then ſaid *Mr. Rogers*, 'It is not ſo of *Jehu*, but of *Jeroboam*, which he ſpeaks of.' Then he corrected himſelf, and ſaid), 'Well, but *Jehu*—can you parallel it now? Why, his heart was hypocritical, and by

policy clave to the ſame ſin of his predeceſſors, and *Baal* again, to pleaſe the people.'

Ro. 'True, my Lord; and is it not ſo now?'

O. P. 'Hah!'—(ſaith he, and turned about to his army men)—'and ſo he ſpake of the army too. What can you ſay of them?'

Ro. 'I ſay they are an Apoſtate army, that have moſt perfidiouſly betrayed the Cauſe of Chriſt, broken their faith in ſo many Declarations and Engagements, and are odious to the Saints; yea, the very name of them will be odious to the children that are yet unborn.' (With that the army men—for many officers were by—were ſorely vexed, ſome grating their teeth and laying heads together).

O. P. 'I tell you,' (ſaith he in a chafe) 'I tell you, and you! that they have kept them all to a tittle. Not one of you can make it appear that they have broke one declaration or engagement, or a tittle of one; prove it if you can, any of you.'

Ro. Mr. Rogers did earneſtly preſs for liberty to inſtance in ſome, and with much ado ſaid—'My Lord, if you would have patience, I would inſtance in many.' (They ſcoff again).

O. P. 'Am I impatient, then? let them that ſtand by ſee! Nay, it is you are ſo *full*, like the Pamphleteers.'

Ro. 'They that write Pamphlets now never printed more lies and blaſphemies ſince the world ſtood.'

O. P. 'I think ſo too.'

Ro. 'But, my Lord, if you pleaſe to let me ſpeak, for if I be extreme, [it] is not "paſſio concupiſcibilis," as we ſee in ſome men who ſpeak all for themſelves, whilſt we ſeek only for Chriſt and his kingdom, but rather a "paſſio iraſcibilis," (which it may be is my weakneſs, but ſure it is my indignation to ſin and ſelf, and that which I ſee ſet up inſtead of Chriſt); but if you will give me leave I will inſtance in declarations, as that in '47, for one, page 9, where they

For there were many poſtures and actions tending to diſturb and interrupt him.

declare againſt any authority or abſolute power in any perſon or perſons whatſoever during life, ſaying the people ſo ſubjected were mere ſlaves, and that you would not have it ſo in any, no, not in any of your own army, or of your own Principles, nor yet of whom you might have moſt perſonal aſſurance, and that it was no reſiſting of magiſtracy to ſide with juſt principles, and much more to that purpoſe. Beſides, in ſeveral others, as in Alban's, and that when the army went to Scotland againſt the Clergy and Tithes.' (But *Maſter Rogers* was interrupted, and not ſuffered to inſiſt on any others).

O. P. 'And who? Hear me: who? — who, I ſay, hath broken that? Where is an arbitrary or abſolute power? (nay, hear me): where is ſuch a power?'

Ro. 'Is not the Long-ſword ſuch? By what law or power are we put into priſon, my brother *Feake* above theſe twelve months, I above twenty-eight weeks, and ſeveral others of our brethren, and we know not for what to this day? which I ſay again is worſe, yea worſe than the Roman law. And is not this Arbitrary? And is not your power with the armies Abſolute, to break up Parliaments and do what you will? But, if you pleaſe, let me inſtance in others.' (But they would not ſuffer him).

One of the army—ſome ſay L. C. *W.** 'Sir,' (ſaith he to *Mr. Rogers*), 'you ſay the army have broken all their Engagements.'

Ro. 'Yea, every one of them; and if they make another Declaration, they will hardly be believed again by good people.'

L. C. *W.* 'But I pray by what rule do you reſiſt Powers ſet up of God?'

Ro. 'Sir, you are miſtaken; we do not reſiſt ſuch as are

* Probably Lieut.-Col. Worſley, of Cromwell's own regiment.

ſet up of God, but we reſiſt ſin in all men. And as *Luther* ſaid, "Inveniar ſane ſuperbus, &c." I may be accounted proud, mad, or anything, but be it ſo, "ne modo impii ſilentii arguar, dum Chriſtus patitur," rather than I be guilty of the ſin of ſilence.'

But Mr. Ro. was interrupted and forced to break off, whiles O. P. proceeded.

O. P. 'Now, for the Army, they are reſolved not to reſt till they have performed all they engaged; and they are about it as faſt as they can do it in order.' (And much to that purpoſe he ſpake. But then *Mr. Her.* deſired to ſpeak).

Mr. Her. 'I deſire to ſpeak a word.'

O. P. 'Well, do.'

Mr. Her. 'That gentleman' (meaning L. C. *W.*) 'aſked by what rule we reſiſt Powers. We deſire, then, to be ſatisfied by what rule you reſiſted the King, and warred againſt him and his adherents, and deſtroyed the Government before, ſeeing they were accounted too a lawful authority. And conſider how much blood cries under the altar, "How long, O Lord, holy and true?"'

O. P. Would undertake to anſwer by a long narrative of the people's grievances, the King's abſolute power, and his ſeeking to deſtroy his ſubjects till they were forced to take up arms for their own defence, ſo that it was a defenſive War; and the former Powers had broken their Engagements and forfeited their truſt. Much more was ſpoken by one or other thereto. But ſaith he, looking upon *Mr. Ro.* 'Ha!'

O. P. 'I ſee he is full to ſpeak.'

The Controverſy cleared out of their own mouths, 1.

Ro. 'Yea, my Lord, I am, for (ex conceſſis) our controverſy is decided, and the caſe is plain on our ſide, and ſeems ſo now more than ever; for do not the poor people of God feel a Prerogative Intereſt now up? As the old Nonconformiſts, or the good old Puritans were perſecuted, impriſoned, reproached, and denied protection from men, and therefore were forced to fly to God by faith and prayer and tears day and night, not ceaſing till the Vial of

Wrath was poured out upon the heads of the King and his Prelates; ſo I ſay the new Nonconformiſts are abuſed, diſowned, and denied protection, perſecuted, impriſoned, baniſhed, and forced day and night (yea thouſands of them in city and country) to their faith, tears, prayers, and appeals, which are the "Bombarda Chriſtianorum," and will prevail, as ſure as God is in Heaven, to bring down the next hot, ſcorching Vial of His Wrath upon theſe new enemies and Perſecutors.

Beſides, 2, in your own declaration, p. 7 of that 1643, you ſay it is no reſiſting of magiſtracy to ſide with juſt principles. And is it not juſt to ſide with that Intereſt which the blood of ſo many thouſands of the Saints hath ſealed to in the three nations, and ſo many Declarations, Vows, and Engagements have been made for, viz. for the Lamb's, and againſt this your Intereſt, which we have all engaged, prayed, bled, and fought againſt? Now, my Lord, let the loud cries of the blood, ſhed againſt theſe things you have ſet up, be heard, and make reſtitution of that blood, thoſe lives, tears, bowels, faith, prayer, limbs, and ſkulls of us and our relations left in the fields and laid out againſt this kind of Government, whether in Civil or Eccleſiaſtical; or elſe let us have what they were laid out for; otherwiſe we muſt and will, with the Lord's help, ſide with thoſe juſt principles that have been ſo ſealed to and owned by the Lord. And this will be a moſt apparent defenſive war as ever was in the world, to defend what the blood, and bones, and eſtates of ſo many thouſands of the Saints of God have bought at ſo high a rate, which they are wronged [of], for they never thought of ſetting up this. And therefore I ſay, my Lord, if our God, the Lord Jehovah, do give his call, I am ready, for one amongſt the Lord's Remnant, "to ſide with juſt principles" in the ſtrength of the Anointing, whether it be "prædicando, precando, or præliando," by preaching, praying, or fighting.'

Sir Gilb. P[*ickering.*] 'Said you not "præliando?"'

'Yes,' (ſays *Mr. R.*), 'in the Spirit of the Lord, for the caſe was never ſo clear as now it is, in the ſtate of the controverſy. For the controverſy is not now between man and man, one Government of the world and another Government of the world, or King and People, but it is now between Chriſt and you, my Lord, Chriſt's Government and yours; and which of theſe two are the higher Powers for us to ſide with and be obedient unto, judge ye.'

The ſtate of the controverſy is between Chriſt and O. P.—Chriſt's Government and Man's.

This ſpeech ſeemed to trouble them all.

O. P. 'Ha! who denies the caſe to be clearer now? But I heard indeed it is ſome of your principles to be at it; Why, you long to be at it—you want but an opportunity.'

Ro. 'The Remnant of the Woman's ſeed muſt be at it when they have the Call. For I beſeech you, my Lord, to conſider how near it is to the end of the Beaſt's dominion, the 42 months, and what time of day it is with us now.' (But *Mr. Ro.* was interrupted).

An Ignoramus brought in very honeſtly.

O. P. 'Talk not of that, for I muſt tell you plainly they are things I underſtand not.'

Ro. 'It ſeems, my Lord, ſo, elſe ſurely you durſt not lay violent hands upon us for the Teſtimony and Truth of the day as you do.'

B. D. (one of the Twelve). 'Why, then, do you impriſon others for the light, if you yourſelf be ſo ignorant?' But then ſome of the Court creatures pulled him by the cloak, and laid violent hands on him, and called him ſtinking, baſe fellow, ſaying he knew not whom he ſpake to, nor where he was, giving him many uncivil words. But afterward one of them ſaid to him, 'Aſk for *Mr. Rogers* out of priſon; aſk for him, and my Lord will let him out.' But *B. D.* anſwered, 'No, Sir, we came not for that.'

B. P. 'Great men are not always wiſe.'

O. P. 'See!' ſays he, looking upon his army men.

Ro. 'They are not always wiſe with the wiſdom of God, though they may have much carnal policy, ſubtilty, and

reaſon of ſtate. But the ſeed of the woman ſhall break the ſerpent's head.' (Which *Mr. Ro.* ſpeaking with a high voice and great alacrity, it made the Courtiers ſcoff at him as if he were a madman).

O. P. 'Ha! And thus they talk of the Miniſtery and Commiſſioners for Approbation, and ſay they are Antichriſtian.'

Ro. 'Yea, my Lord, we do ſay ſo, and they are ſo, as to their ſtanding upon a wrong, un-Goſpel foot of account; and I will prove them, and your Triers (I ſpeak not as to their perſons, but as to their ſtanding) Antichriſtian for matter, and form, and rule, by which they ſit, and end for which they ſit.'

O. P. 'You fix the name of Antichriſtian upon anything.'

Ro. 'Pray, my Lord, make no law againſt that name; let it not be Treaſon to uſe the name of Antichriſtian, for that name will up yet higher and higher, and many things that you think good and Chriſtian will be found Antichriſtian ere long.'

O. P. (Being angry, looked on his army men). 'See,' (ſaid he), 'and ſo all is Antichriſtian, and Tithes are ſo too, with you; but I will prove they are not.'

Ro. 'My Lord, you were once of another mind, and told me you'd have them pulled down, and put into a treaſury.'

O. P. 'Did I ever ſay ſo?'

Ro. 'Yea, that you did, in the Cock-pit—the round place there; and ſaid, moreover, that the poor ſhould be maintained, and put to work with what remained of them, that we might have no beggar in England.'

O. P. 'Ha! there be many gentlemen know that I have been for them, and will maintain the juſtneſs of them.'

Ro. 'But, my Lord, how can that be that the National Miniſtery is not Antichriſtian?'

See your Ordinance, March 20, 1653. The ground is upon Patrons' right to preſent to cure of ſouls, the Creator is your L. P. Cromwell, the matter men of corrupt principles and practices, and moſt of them of the National Church; the end is to fill Pariſh-cures and get Tithes —all Antichriſtian.

O. P. 'See, now, how you run! It is not a National Miniſtery that is now eſtabliſhed, nor can you make it appear they are Antichriſtian.'

Ro. 'Yea, my Lord, without any difficulty: out of your own law, which hath conſtituted theſe Triers and High-Court-Commiſſioners to eſtabliſh a worldly clergy.'

O. P. 'I tell you, you and you, that you cannot, for they ordain none.'

Ro. 'No; but if the Pope, Prelate, or Devil ſhould ordain them, they muſt approve of them, ſettle them in their pariſhes, and what not, if they be but conformable to——' (He is interrupted).

O. P. 'I tell you—I tell you, it is their Grace they judge of, and not for parts or learning Latin, Greek, or Hebrew.'

Ro. 'And who made them judges of Grace, my Lord? At moſt they can but judge of the fruits of Grace, and how dare they take upon them to be judges over Grace? It is not you, but the Lord Jeſus, that can make them ſuch judges.' (With that he turned away, as very angry).

B. H. 'My Lord, we are very much diſſatisfied with what you have done againſt theſe priſoners of the Lord Jeſus, for ſo they are, and we muſt count them ſo, for you have given us no ſatisfaction at all in what you pretend them to be as evil-doers.'

O. P. 'I cannot tell you, then, how to help it.'

B. H. 'For my part, I muſt declare againſt you, and will venture my life, if I be called to it, with theſe our brethren that ſuffer.'

B. Cr. 'As for thoſe Articles, we have heard them read againſt our brother *Rogers* out of his ſermons preached at Thomas Apoſtle's, and from what he prayed at Thomas Apoſtle's. Set aſide but what is put in by your Informers, which we will take our oaths that heard them all preached, were never ſpoken by him; only I ſay that excepted, we

will live and die with him upon thoſe Articles, and will own him with our lives.'

'Yea,' ſaid *Mr. Ro.* 'and I believe an hundred will that heard and writ them.'

O. P. 'Well,' ſaith he, 'I'll ſend for ſome of you ere long, but I have loſt this time, and have public buſineſs upon me at this time: I had rather have given £500!—I tell you there wants brotherly love, and the ſeveral ſorts of forms would cut the throats one of another, ſhould not I keep the peace.'

Ro. 'Thoſe you call Fifth-Monarchy-Men are driven by your ſword to love one another.'

O. P. 'Why, I tell you there be Anabaptiſts' (pointing at *Mr. Kiffin*), 'and they would cut the throats of them that are not under their forms; ſo would the Preſbyterians cut the throats of them that are not of their forms, and ſo would you Fifth-Monarchy-Men. It is fit to keep all theſe forms out of the Power.'

Ro. 'Who made you, my Lord, a judge of our principles? You ſpeak evil of you know not what. For that Fifth-Monarchy principle, as you call it, is of ſuch a latitude as takes in all Saints, all ſuch as are ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus, without reſpect of what form or judgment he is. But "Judicium ſit ſecundum vim intellectualis luminis"'—(He was interrupted).

O. P. 'What do you tell us of your Latin?'

Ro. 'Why, my Lord, you are Chancellor of Oxford, and can you not bear that language?'

B. C. 'My Lord, we have great comfort by the Miniſtery of our brother *Rogers*, and great miſs of him, and therefore we have demanded his liberty, and deſire to know whether he ſhall be at liberty or no.'

O. P. 'I will take my own time; you ſhall not know what I will do.'

B. H. 'Then let us have liberty to hear him preach.'

And yet for all S. Dendy's baſeneſs to the poor perſecuted people of God, and his readineſs to prevent the Great Man's anſwer, he can let in as many as will come to the drunken profane priſoners and plotters, ſo that friends are glad to uſe their names (if they know any of them) that come to ſee Mr. Rogers.

S. Dendy. 'It cannot be, my Lord, for I have many priſoners, and 'tis dangerous.'

Ro. 'Pray, my Lord, conſider that place in Iſaiah xlix. 24, 25, 26, for the Lord will deliver the lawful captive in that day which is coming. You can but have my blood at laſt, and you had like to have had it already in the Priſon ere this. Two of my children have died there ſince my impriſonment, and I have been at Death's door.'

B. H. 'It is unreaſonable our brother *Ro.* ſhould be kept priſoner ſo in ſuch a place and at ſuch a charge, as is for him above £200 per annum, and we know no cauſe for it, but his conſcience.'

Then *S. Dendy* was ſpoken to, to anſwer for himſelf.

S. D. 'Now, my Lord, I ſee one of my accuſers. I never demanded a penny of *Mr. Ro.* nor of my Aunt, his wife, who is one of *Sir Robert Payne's* daughters.'

O. P. 'I knew her father very well.'

S. D. 'But they have, my Lord, three rooms, and it cannot be allowed.'

Ro. 'No more room than one priſoner had before, being divided into three little rooms, and but one chimney in them all. The Plotter that went out before I came into them had them all. And for the fees, though you in perſon demanded them not, yet your man, old *Meazy*, did for you ſeveral times, viz. £4 4*s.* per week, which he did before witneſs, as I can prove under their hands, and he ſaid I ſhould not go out till the Serjeant had it. And what beſides I was to pay you I was not to know till I went out.'

Mrs. Ro. ſaid to *Serjeant Dendy*—'It's true, you have had but five pounds yet of it.'

O. P. 'Why, he is your nephew, who was accounted one that loved the people of God.'

Ro. 'So were others as well as he till this trial.'

Mr. Cre. 'My Lord, will you not give us the liberty to

hear him in the priſon then, ſeeing you will not let us hear him abroad?'

O. P. 'Is that the liberty you fought for?' ſays he in a ſcoff.

Mr. Cre. 'Yes, Sir, and that which we demand.' But then the Great Man would be gone, and as he was going out *Mr. Ro.* deſired him to remember he muſt be judged, and the day of the Lord was near, and that he would ere long, and thoſe about him; find them that now he and they counted falſe Prophets in Windſor and Lambeth true Prophets, and what they have ſaid they ſhould find come to paſs ere many years yet, for that the righteous Jehovah who ſitteth on high heareth all our prayers, ſighs, groans, and tears. But away he went, and would not hear.

As ſoon as we came out of the room *Serjeant Dendy* in the gallery threatened what he would do, and how he would ſend them further off, and order them ere long, *Mr. Rogers* receiving the threatening without impatience or one word of reply unto him.

That very night a ſtrict order was ſent after him to Lambeth Priſon that no more than ſix may come to ſee *Mr. R.* at a time, no ſuch order being made for any of the other priſoners, who have of lewd company as many as they will at a time. And ſince that the gaoler hath been ſo ſtrict, eſpecially upon the Lord's days, according to his orders from Whitehall, that he will not ſuffer one Brother to come in to ſee him or to pray with him, that is ſent from the Churches of Chriſt upon thoſe days, if he knows him, to keep a holy reſt with *Mr. R.* But to paſs over that, and leave it to the Judge of heaven and earth, who we are ſure will not overpaſs it.

During this diſcourſe between *Mr. R.* and the Great Man above, the brethren that were below in the yard had their ſhare of reproaches and abuſes. For the members of the Churches of Chriſt who could not have acceſs with

In the mean time the contumelies, contempt, and opprobrious

abuſes the members of Mr. Feake's, Mr. Rogers', Mr. Raworth's, and of ſome other Churches, met with below in the yard, during the foreſaid diſcourſe with O. Cromwel.

Mr. Ro. were kept below, and encompaſſed about with divers of the deboiſt ſoldiers, who when they heard us declare againſt thoſe barbarous actions which the Guard ſo cruelly acted with their ſwords againſt our naked brethren and friends, thoſe aforeſaid ſoldiers began to queſtion the occaſion of our being there, which when we had told them they began to ſet up their voices, many of them hooting and hiſſing at us, as if we had not been Chriſtians or creatures of the like make with themſelves, telling us we had often riſen, and they had allayed us, and they made no queſtion but they ſhould alſo allay us at this time, if we intended to riſe. To whom we anſwered that there was no ſuch thing in our eye now as to avenge ourſelves by or with external weapons, but ſaid, we have here Swords (ſhowing our Bibles) which we believe will in God's appointed time, being guided and accompanied by his Spirit, deſtroy and cut in pieces your Swords, which now you draw againſt us and it.

Afterwards we further obſerved that whilſt we were waiting below in the open yard for the return of our friend and friends, there being of us, as near as we can remember, betwixt forty and fifty perſons, men and women, that we could find no place in the aforeſaid yard where we might have any quiet, or be free from the uncivil reproaches, ſcoffing, jeers, blaſphemous nicknames, and what not, which ſome of the aforeſaid Foot-guard threw upon us with great contempt and ſcorn, telling us Bridewell and ſuch like places were fitter for us than to be there.

So that we believe the Lord hath a little remnant in the Army alſo, whoſe ſouls do ſecretly mourn for theſe abominations, and it is obſervable that

But in the midſt of their uncivil, unchriſtianlike, and very lewd language to us, we cannot but remember that ſpirit of remorſe and pity which ſeemed to be in ſome of their Officers, to ſee us ſo abuſed, inſomuch as ſome of the Officers told us they were ſorry to ſee ſuch things, namely, the uncivil carriage of ſome of their ſoldiers; yet, ſaid they, we cannot expect better where it is not.

Thus for the ſpace of divers hours we were hurried up

and down, not being ſuffered to be in quiet in any one place without the company of divers of thoſe unruly fellows, whom we ſhould have been content to let hear our diſcourſe would they have ſuffered us to ſtand ſtill or in quiet. But they ſo uncivilly and moſt ungodlily ſhew their obſcene and filthy ſpeeches and actions . . . . uſing ſuch words as we are aſhamed to utter or expreſs, beſides manifold more provocations, revilings, and threatenings, and ſinful actions, wherein they ſeemed to take great delight.

the Lord hath by degrees pulled the choiceſt of them out of this Apoſtate Army, that they might not partake of their plagues, as M. G. Harriſon, Col. Rich, Col. Okey, Col. Alured, Adj.-Gen. Allen, M. G. Overton, Maj. Wiggens, Dr. Day, and many others.

But after *Mr. Rogers* and the Brethren that were with him came down into the yard many friends gathered about him. Whiles *Mr. R.* being remanded again to priſon, was going to take water with his keeper, he heard *Major-General Harriſon, Colonel Rich, Mr. Carew, Quartermaſter-General Courtney, Mr. Ireton, Mr. Squib*, with many others, were there in the yard, ſo that *Mr. Ro.* went to them, and after joyful ſalutations, he told them he was going to priſon again, and that there were articles put in by wicked men out of the priſon againſt him, which he excepted againſt as illegal, and as given in by plotters, and men given to drinking, ſwearing, and ſuch like ſins, and ſome others which were read againſt him from Thomas Apoſtle's. But as he was telling this he was interrupted by one that cried out, 'That is falſe! it is falſe!' Upon which he was ſilent to look upon the man that ſo ſaid, and it was *Mr. Kiffin*, who had crowded among us to liſten for tales to carry to his Maſter, who then ſaid, 'They were not articles put in by drunkards; that is untrue, &c. but by honeſt, godly men, that heard you at Thomas Apoſtle's.' To which *Mr. Rogers* replied that the articles were of two ſorts—thoſe read were from Thomas Apoſtle's, but thoſe unread (which he excepted againſt) were from Lambeth, given in by ſuch lewd men, and he ſaw them upon the table, and that his *Lord Protector* beſides ſaid they had informations from the priſon, and moreover read one of them, viz. that of the

Great Dragon, and *Serjeant Dendy* ſent them to *Mr. Thurloe*, as was proved; ſo that it was not falſe, but very true. At which *Mr. Kiffin* was ſo ſilenced that he could not ſay a word for himſelf, which ſome of the gentlemen by ſeeing, reproved him for his raſhneſs, and ſo *Mr. Ro.* and they parted, perceiving people to flock about them, and without doubt to have ſomewhat to inform their Great Maſter againſt *Mr. Ro.* or ſome of the poor Saints, but that is the principle or practice of ſelf-ſeeking ſycophants and Court paraſites, to make themſelves, and not care how they murder others or what they inform againſt them.

M.G.Harriſon, Col. Rich, Mr. Carew, * Mr. Squib, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Ireton, and many others, continued up the Teſtimony and the Demand to O. P. the very ſame night.

Whiles *Mr. R.* was carried away to priſon again, the foreſaid Gentlemen, of much merit and ſingular honour amongſt the choiceſt Saints, for their unſpotted ſanctity and integrity to the betrayed Truth and Cauſe of Chriſt, went up to the Great Man, although before they could have any acceſs the ſword was drawn at them alſo, and ſet at *Mr. Carey's* breaſt, but after eight or ten of them had liberty to *O. P.* they brought him the ſame kind of meſſage from Jehovah that was before delivered him by the Twelve, making a

* Mr. John Carew was the ſecond ſon of Sir Richard Carew of Antony. His elder brother, Sir Alexander Carew, was beheaded in 1644, by ſentence of a Parliamentary Court-Martial, for attempting to ſurrender Drake's Iſland, in Plymouth Sound, to the King. John Carew ſigned the death-warrant of King Charles I, for which he was executed in 1660. Mr. Squib was one of the members for Middleſex in the Barebones Parliament.

When Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell viſited Oxford, in 1649, an honorary degree of M.A. was conferred upon the chief officers of their ſtaff, and amongſt others upon Hugh Courtney. He is deſcribed by Anthony Wood as "an officer of note," and ſerved afterwards as Quartermaſter-General in Ireland. He ſat for North Wales in the Barebones Parliament, while a member alſo of the Council of State.

Mr. Ireton was brother to Henry Ireton, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, was member for London in the Barebones Parliament, a member of the Council of State, and Lord Mayor of London in 1659.

Demand of the Lord's priſoners, and bearing their Teſtimony to his face againſt him and his Government.

In the mean time *Mr. Kiffin* below had got a company together in *Mr. Rogers'* abſence, railing upon him, and ſaying he was a wicked man, and had told what was not true of the articles, and ſpake againſt his Lord. But *Mr. G.* a precious, godly Chriſtian, and a member of the church at D. then ſpake aloud to *Mr. Kiffin*, as *Mr. Kiffin* did before to *Mr. Rogers*, ſaying, 'That's falſe, for I can,' ſays he, 'no more be ſilent for *Mr. Rogers* than you can be for your *Lord Protector*. What *Mr. Rogers* ſpake was truth, as he made it appear to your face,' and then he told him how. So that poor *Mr. K.* was ſilenced again the ſecond time, and could not go on till a more private and clandeſtine meeting among his own kind of time-ſervers and ſelf-ſeekers, where he might tell his untruths againſt *Mr. R.*, *Major-General Harriſon*, and others without control (as we hear he, with ſome that belong unto him, have done at large), and have them taken upon the truſt and credit of his word at a venture. It is but reaſon and gratitude to his Great Maſter to poſſeſs all he can againſt the poor perſecuted Saints in the behalf of him to whom he is ſo highly obliged, above any one man almoſt in England, for his large favours and beneficial patentees. But ere long the Merchants who were made rich (by compliance with Babylon) ſhall weep and wail, and ſay 'Alas! alas!' (Rev. xviii. 15, 16).*

Somewhat obſervable.

It is to be obſerved, that very day the ſword was drawn twice at the Witneſſes and Woman's ſeed. The Providence is alſo admirable; at that very juncture, when *Mr. R.* and the Brethren were before him to maintain the Teſti-

* For an account of Kiffin's ſubſequent proſperity and misfortunes, ſee "Macaulay's Hiſtory of England," ii. 488 (Ed. 1858).

mony and Demand made by the Twelve, that on that very day (many aſſemblies of the Saints in ſeveral places being hard at the Throne) the Lord ſhould call out one (unknown to any of us) whole meeting of the praying number, being about thirty-four men, to go to Whitehall and bear their Witneſs alſo.

The concurrence of the Teſtimony and the Demand is no leſs conſiderable (ſeeing one had not the knowledge of the other's Meſſage) that *Major-General Harriſon, Mr. Carew,* and the reſt ſhould ſecond the aforeſaid Twelve by a mere hand and call of God, which they were obedient unto, which is very exemplary and encouraging to all the Saints and Churches in England, who are faithful to the cauſe of Chriſt, ſeeing ſo leading and calling a Providence.

The Teſtimony up at a high pitch.

The Demand and the Teſtimony is of a ſudden gotten to a high pitch, which doth mightily raiſe up the expectations of the believing Remnant.

It is not meet for us to publiſh the matter of their Teſtimony, being of the ſame nature with this Narrative; neither can we do it ſo accurately and faithfully as we hope ſome others will. The preſent work of the day—to gag the miſreports thereupon, for the quickening and ſtrengthening them that are to follow us, calling for the publication thereof without delay, wherever it lies, and the rather for that thoſe choice ſervants of the Lord Jeſus, *Major-General Harriſon, Colonel Rich, Mr. Carew,* and *Colonel Courtney,* are ſo cruelly uſed for their Teſtimony and the Truth's ſake, having no fact but their faith to charge them with, and hurried away to priſon with a troop of horſe, we know not whither. So that the man muſt needs be wilfully blind indeed now, that will not ſee and ſay, The Saints are under perſecution.

M.G.Harriſon, Mr. Carew, and Mr. Courtney ſent away, with a troop of horſe, to priſon, we know not whither, the 22nd day of the 12th month [February].

Therefore let not the good people of the nation be ſo ſhamefully abuſed and deceived as they have been with lying pamphlets and informers, whiles the Truth cannot,

A word of caution.

muſt not, dare not be printed, for fear of offending the men in Power and ſuffering a priſon or worſe. Of all, beware of that Abominable Oracle the late Ironmonger, but now Pariſh Preacher, *Walker* (his Weekly Proceedings), whoſe forehead hath for many years been plated and brazened in the trade and art of lying, making it his calling and his living (except the Triers help him more eaſily to the pariſh tithes). This drives the poor man to ſo much pitiful ſcraping among the Court clerks for a few lies to ſell every week at an eaſy rate, that he and his family may live comfortably upon the lying, ſlandering, and traducing the Lord's peculiar ones, who are as the apple of his eyes. How lamentably he hath abuſed *Mr. Feake*, *Mr. Rogers*, *Major-General Overton*, and many others, is well known, and one day he muſt anſwer before the juſt Judge of all hearts with a wan countenance and woful conſcience, however he thinks to palliate it at preſent with a 'So 'twas told me.' But, as *Solomon* ſays (Prov. xvii. 4), 'A liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue,' and the curſe is threatened not only to them that make but them that receive and report lies (Rev. xxi). Therefore (Exod. xxiii. 1), 'Put not thy hand to an unrighteous witneſs.'

A man ſo baſe and ſcandalous as makes him horrible, and his name to ſtink among the Churches as very unfit matter to be a member of a Church, but rather fit to be excommunicated and exploded the Society of all the Saints for bringing ſo foul a reproach upon Religion, which he hath formerly pretended to, till he followed this Trade of Merchant for lies.

Theſe things are publiſhed in mere love to the Truth and deſpiſed Saints of God, for whoſe ſake we are contented to become a reproach in the world, and to ſuffer anything, by his grace, that man can inflict upon us, ſo our dear Lord Jeſus may but reign, his Truth triumph, and his Kingdom be exalted. Amen, Amen."

As will preſently appear, neither the "Meſſage to O. C. by the Twelve," nor the reaſonings of *Rogers*, nor the advocacy of *Harriſon*, *Carew*, and *Courtney* could induce *Cromwell* to releaſe his priſoner. In the mean time *Henry Walker* revenged himſelf on the Twelve for the abuſe laviſhed upon him in the "Narrative," by publiſhing the following account of them in his "Perfect Proceedings:"—

"There are twelve men about London, ſaid to be notorious

impoſtors, who pretend to be of a Society whereof *Mr. Rogers*, priſoner in Lambeth Houſe, is overſeer, but never a one of them are of the church at Weſtminſter, of which *Mr. Rogers* is a member, but no overſeer neither, but another miniſter of great worth and piety. Their names are *Hur Horton*, *Chriſtopher Crayle*," &c. " notable firebrands, concerning whom divers honeſt, godly men are ready to make it appear that abundance of filthy, baſe lies have been raiſed and ſpread about the city by them, ſuch as all good Chriſtians had need to take heed they be not poiſoned with, for it is thought they have ſome Jeſuit or Popiſh prieſt at the helm with them, and they are much of the ſame ſpirit that *John Spittlehouſe*, priſoner at Lambeth, is of, who was once an under-marſhall in the army, and then bloody enough, but ſince he was ſtripped of that, as cunning an impoſtor as the twelve. This is but a touch of them. I have many of their pranks ready by me to make known if need be, but I had rather ſee them turn honeſt men."

See page 179.

Perfect Proceedings, March 27, 1655.

CHAPTER VII.

AFTER his interview with *Cromwell*, *Rogers* was remanded to Lambeth Priſon, where he remained until *Serjeant Dendy* procured from the Council of State the following order for his removal to Windſor :—

"COUNCIL OF STATE.

Friday, 30 *March*, 1655.

His Highneſs preſent.

Lo. Preſi. Laurence, Lo. Lambert, Col. Montagu, Mr. Rous, E. of Mulgrave, Col. Fiennes, Col. Sydenham, Col. Jones, Lord Liſle, Sir Gilb. Pickering, Sir Chas. Wolſley, Mr. Strickland.

A letter from *Serjeant Dendy* to the *Lord Preſident* was this day read. Ordered by His Highneſs the *Lord Protector* and the Council that *Mr. Rogers* be removed from Lambeth Houſe to Windſor Caſtle, and that warrants be iſſued to the *Serjeant at Arms* to convey him to Windſor Caſtle, and to the *Governor* of Windſor Caſtle to receive him in Cuſtody."

Fair Entry Book of the Council of State, in the Public Record Office.

"On the 30th of March, 1655," ſays Wood, "*Oliver* and his Council ordered that the ſaid *Rogers* ſhould be removed to Windſor Caſtle. Whereupon the next day he was carried there, and his wife rode after him."

Athenæ Oxon. ii. 595.

Rogers records the hiſtory of what he ſuffered as a priſoner at Windſor and elſewhere, in the book entitled "Jegar Sahadvtha," from which all the remaining part of this chapter is extracted. As uſual, the title-page of the book is characteriſtic of the author; it is therefore reproduced here.

JEGAR SAHADVTHA:

AN OYLED PILLAR.

Set up for Posterity.

Againſt the preſent *Wickedneſſes*, Hypocriſies, Blaſphemies, Perſecutions, and Cruelties of this *Serpent power* (now up) in *England* (the Out-Street of the Beaſt.) Or, a *HEART APPEALE* to HEAVEN and EARTH, broken out of *Bonds* and *Baniſhment* at laſt, in a Relation of ſome part of the paſt and preſent Sufferings of *JOHN ROGERS* in cloſe Priſon and continued Baniſhment, for the moſt bleſſed Cauſe and Teſtimony of *JESUS*; the ſound of the Seventh Trumpet and the Goſpel of the ſeven Thunders, or holy Oracles (called *rayling* by them in Power) ſealed up to the time of the End.

From Carisbrook Caſtle in the third Year of my Captivity, the Fifth-Priſon, and the third in Exile, having been hurried about from poſt to pillar,

Quia perdere nolo ſubſtantiam propter Accidentia.

Gen. 31. 36, 37. *What is my treſpaſſe? What is my ſin, that thou haſt ſo hotly perſued after me?——Set it here before my Bretheren and thy Brethren, that they may judge betwixt us both!*

Lam. 4. 3. *The* very Sea-monſter (*or* תַּנִּין Tannin *the old Serpent*) *drawn out the Breaſt, they ſuckle their young ones* (*or Protected ones from the root* גּוּר gur, *he ſojourned with or dwelt under*), *the daughter of my people is a cruel one, as the Oſtritch in the Wilderneſſe.*

Lam. 3. 52, 53, 55. *Mine enemies have hunted, hunting me like a Sparrow without Cauſe* (*or grace of* חֵן chen), *they have cut off my dayes in the dungeon, and caſt a ſtone upon me: I called upon thy name* (*O Jehovah*) *out of the under dungeon.*

Non Vindictâ ſed Victoriâ.

"*The poor Priſoner, Pilgrim and Exile in Caines-br-Caſtle from the top of Amana, the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the Lion's den, from the Mountains of the Leopards, to all his fellow-citizens in Sion and fellow-ſeparates out of Babylon, and to ſuch as are not aſhamed of our chain, eſpecially in that Church Society whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made him an Overſeer.*

Because the cruelty of this Serpent in England (whom effeminate luſting Eve-like profeſſors have fallen in and fallen off and fallen down with) from whoſe face we fly till the time, times and a dividend (Rev. xii. 14), is hardly heard of, known, or believed abroad, his horns looking ſo like a Lamb, but that ye may hear a little how he ſpeaks and perſecutes like a Dragon, I have held it a duty for further diſcovery of him and his ſpirit, to publiſh thus much further of his Nimrodian Tyranny and Trading in this kingdom ſince the late Apoſtaſy. That which I have ſeen and felt of his fury at Lambeth, for ſo many months, among monſters rather than men, ſo greedy of my blood, I omit here, as being mentioned in my preface to 'Priſonborn,' but that men, if they will, may ſee, what an unreaſonable, beaſt-like Monſter this is that rends, tears, and devours ſo, I have added this hiſtory of ſome paſſages ſince Lambeth, which I have ſuffered for the ſake of my dear Maſter Jeſus Chriſt in this his Cauſe.

Now I do declare it, as before the moſt Righteous and Holy Judge of Heaven and Earth, ſhould any one aſk me why I have been, that is as ſome ſay, upon the civil account, ſo long in priſon, hard bonds and baniſhment, year after year (which long impriſonment the Martyrs accounted worſe than death) I muſt acknowledge an abſolute ignorance in my own conſcience before God, angels, and men,

let ſome Timeſervers ſay what they pleaſe for themſelves, without this be it that I cannot in my conſcience turn with the dog to the vomit, and in plain Engliſh, lie, diſſemble, forſwear, and play the traitor to Chriſt, the hypocrite to God, and the knave with men as others have done. I will not deny but my infirmities have been very many, which I think I could weep over the feet of any that ſhall reprove me for them, but what I have done worthy of impriſonment and baniſhment, (them excepted) I know not, this I can ſay from my ſoul, that I think as I preached, ſo I ſought nothing but Chriſt and his Kingdom. Canutus, King of England, in thoſe thick times of popery, did confeſs to all his lords about him no mortal worthy of the name of king, ſave He to whoſe beck, heaven, earth, and ſea are obedient (Hen. of Hunt.), and ſhall we in theſe days after ſuch ſolemn engagements for a Theocracy, as I have proved, admit of any other King, Lord Protector, or Lawgiver, to raviſh us with their luſts? God forbid!

Wherefore, for Chriſt's ſake, ſtand faſt, unmoveable, and abounding in the work of the Lord, and I do profeſs, for my part, I will abide by it, for as one of the Martyrs often uſed Veſpaſian's ſaying, 'Imperatorem decet ſtantem mori,' it becomes us, that are Kings and Prieſts to God, (Rev. v. 10), to die ſtanding, not ſtooping to the luſt of any man, eſpecially now the day of Chriſt is come. Therefore let us all fall in, and on, and ſtand to it, with the Lamb and the twenty-four elders, or the twenty-four orders of the Levites about the throne in this Cauſe, by which tribe of Levi are indeed to be underſtood the Generation Saints, the firſt-born, who like the Levites (before under a curſe, Gen. xlix. 7) obtained the bleſſing for executing judgment (Exod. xxxii. 27, 28, 29) with the ſword on their brethren and ſpared not. So that ſuch Generation Saints (the twenty-four) ſhall join in one work and ſong with the Lamb, and with all the living creatures about the throne,

and with the Holy Angels, (Rev. iv. 9-11, v. 11) and altogether in one Hallelujah, Amen. As, Iſaiah lii. 7, 8, which he waits for, who is buried with the body of Jeſus in this new Sepulchre, where the ſoldiers ſeek to keep down his reſurrection, and the hope of your brother,

JOHN ROGERS."

" *A High Witneſs, or Heart Appeal, &c.*

I SHALL take up a few of my ſubſecive hours, for the public good, in giving a ſhort and ſuccinct account of ſome few more of thoſe barbarous, brutiſh acts of this Beaſt now up in Great Britanny upon my body, ſince my removal from Lambeth priſon to Windſor, and into this Iſle of Wight, where I am now, a poor pilgrim, priſoner and forſaken, baniſhed man. As a preface to 'Priſonborn,' or my former treatiſe out of priſon, I gave a narrative of ſome part of my Lambeth ſufferings, and as an introduction to this 'Baniſhborn' (I intended it) I ſhall proceed ſo far as I think it my duty.

They brought me into the wide jaw of Windſor Caſtle the 31ſt day of the firſt month, 1655, delivering my body up to that den of Leopards, according to this order from their angry maſters, procured by *Serjeant Dendy*, whom the Dragon hath given a power unto for a time, and times, and a dividend, but he acts as a ſerpent full ſubtilely :—

'Theſe are to will and require you, to receive into your Cuſtody from the hands of *Edward Dendy, Eſquire*, Serjeant at Arms attending the Council, or his Deputy, the body of *Mr. John Rogers*, and him ſafely to keep a priſoner in Windſor Caſtle, until you ſhall receive further order from the Council. Hereof you are not to fail, and for ſo doing this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant. Given at Whitehall

this 30th day of March, 1655. Signed in the name and by the order of the Council.

HENRY LAWRENCE, *Preſident.*

To the Governor of Windſor Caſtle or his Deputy.'

Thus *Serjeant Dendy*, upon monſtrous reports of my preaching out of the priſon grates, got this order by ſolicitation, and to ſcrew up his power to the higheſt peg of ſeverity, he ſent ſtrict orders to his under gaolers that neither man, woman, or child ſhould come at me, nor any of my family ſtir out, ſo much as for food, money or any other neceſſaries whatſoever, inſomuch as my friends who came to viſit me were forced to ſtand in the ſtreet, with ſoldiers at their heels, to hear what we ſaid, whiles I ſpake out at the iron bars unto them. And in the night, when no one of my friends or acquaintance might hear a word thereof, he ſent a meſſenger, very late, to bid me be ready by ſix in the morning, for I muſt be carried on the other ſide the water, this being the firſt notice I had of their ſecret deſign, nor would he tell me whither, to whom, or for what, nor (as then) ſhow me any order for it, nor would he ſuffer any of my friends to know of it, but to my great aſtoniſhment I heard ſome calling under my windows almoſt all night and by day break very much, whom we thought our enemies, till the morning diſcovered them to be our friends, who by a ſpecial providence of God were raiſed out of their beds and had heard a rumour that I was to be carried away that morning by day break, and waited at the priſon gates where I was to come out, with many tears, and prayers, and ſupplies of my wants, but the ruffians, ſtruck, ſhoved, and puſhed them away what they could, and hurried me from them, and ſo carried me to Windſor Caſtle.

That day word was given before to the Governor of the

Caſtle, and by orders the ſoldiers were ſet on both ſides, with their arms and matches light, to receive the priſoner coming; but when they ſaw me come in, ſome of the Officers told me, they were ready to ſink down in the place where they ſtood, they expecting ſome Cavalier, or lewd perſon rather, and not me, as they ſaid, to be ſo dealt with, ſome of them knowing me both in this nation, and in Ireland, and looking upon one another with amazement, ſaw it an apparent perſecution, as they ſaid upon good men for their conſcience and the Cauſe of Chriſt. After a longer attendance I was put into a little room, which had one little window, and which did ſo exceſſively ſmoke, that the wind made it worſe than a priſon, if in that cold ſeaſon we would keep a fire, the very coals thereof being blown into the room about, but I ran to the door to eaſe my eyes a little, and to take ſome air, thinking to have walked a little in the yard, but it was denied me, the ſentinels ſtanding at my door to keep me in, yet afterwards, for very ſhame, and perhaps pity, I had more liberty, and the ſentinels were taken off, which continued till the ſixth of the third month enſuing.

With a tolerable modeſty and humanity, they admitted me the liberty of the priſon, and acceſs to my brother *Feakes'* chamber for one month, without interruption, where we worſhipped the Lord together. But on the 29th day of the ſecond month [April], being the Lord's day, in the abſence of the Governor, two of the officers, viz. *Capt. Weſton*, and one *Pepper*, an enſign, the latter (being lately fetched out from a common ſoldier, and lifted up with ſo ſudden an exceſſive pride, conceit, and ambition, zealous of higher promotion and therefore ſtriving to exceed and ſo to ſupplant his ſuperior in cruelty to us), falling out with the other for admitting us to meet in the worſhip of our God upon the Lord's days, although privately in our priſon chamber, and to amend ſo great a miſtake and foul a crime,

they forthwith forced a Sentinel upon the door to hinder me going up to my fellow-priſoner's chamber, which, when I ſaw, I was deſired by the Lord's people preſent to begin there, and ſo I drew out my Bible; at the door, (ſeveral of our friends, with my brother *Feake* being by), we began in an Hymn and prayer, proceeded on with the text, but was often interrupted by the ſoldiers, and the hearers driven away with violence, at laſt the aforeſaid officers admitted we ſhould go into the Chamber as before, and took off the Sentinels, and ſo we continued together with much comfort, a few of us, in praying, ſinging, and exhorting one another, until late at night, according to the primitive practice of the perſecuted Saints. But the Devil did not like this, and therefore againſt the next Lord's day following he had made ready his rage, the day before which the Governor* himſelf, being come home, and inſtructed with the matter by his *Enſign Pepper*, ſent for us two priſoners with a peremptory ſword power of *coram nobis*, who after we had looked up to the hills, from whence our help comes, went readily and cheerfully. The Governor aſſaulted us fiercely with ſome other of his officers like fell beaſts, charging my fellow priſoner with a foul fault in his child of three or four years old, that he ſhould call *O. C.* fool, at which my Brother *F.* ſaid that he would affirm more, viz. that he is a tyrant, which made them high in their rage againſt him, with whom I thought I was bound to bear my witneſs modeſtly, but the Governor brake out into ſuch bitter rage, that he was mere anger, without ears, or reaſon, threatening to lay me forthwith into the hole, if I preached againſt his maſter. At which I rejoiced, and ſaid, yea do,

* Colonel Whichcot who ſix years before had "roughly and poſitively" refuſed to allow Charles the 1ſt to be buried according to the rites of the book of Common Prayer (Clarendon, vi. 242) was ſtill Governor of Windſor Caſtle. Feake mentions him by name.—*Thurloe*, v. 757.

Sir, with all my heart, I am as ready to ſuffer it for my Maſter, as you are to do it for yours; and I tell you, Sir, I fear not the worſt you men can do, and, with the Grace of my God, I will preach for my Chriſt, againſt *Cromwell*, or any other that oppoſe Chriſt, though I die for it; if I have but a peeping hole, or a hole to breathe out at, I ſhall preach, if you do not ſuffer us to do it in our priſon lodges privately, for my commiſſion is not from man, but God, and my authority is greater from above than thy power. In the interim, be it known to thee, that I fear neither thee, nor thy ſword, in theſe matters of our God.

The next day (being the Lord's) they began to put their hell-begotten plot into practice, for our friends that came to viſit us from London they kept upon their guard, and would not admit them to us, which when my con-captive heard, unknown to me, he went into the chapel, and with the people's leave, he began prayer in the pulpit, which they were attentive unto, I, hearing thereof, whilſt I was pleading with the Governor in the yard for our Chriſtian liberty upon the Lord's day, to meet together in our chambers, to pray and worſhip (who was called from me to fetch ſoldiers) I went into the chapel, where he was praying, without the leaſt touch of the times, or government, I ſtood at the pulpit door, but by and bye came up a file or two of ſoldiers armed, and ready as if they would have diſcharged preſently upon us, led up firſt by the Governor and then by a Serjeant, one *Baker*, all very imperiouſly, and with their hats on. This *Baker* till then ſeemed unſatisfied with ſuch unchriſtian proceedings, but upon his riſe to preferment of an Enſign he became very rigorous like the reſt, he came up to the pulpit door where I ſtood between him and my fellow-priſoner ſtill praying, and, laying hands on me to pull me down and him out, I ſpake ſoftly to him ſaying, 'O will you, a great profeſſor and one who ſeemed ſmit in conſcience for ſuch cruelty, exerciſe it, and where too? when

he is praying! let him but pray out, tarry but a little.' 'What,' ſays he, 'will you juſtify him?' 'Oh and alas,' ſaid I, 'and ſhould I not? Is he not ſerving of a good Maſter? Do not fight againſt Chriſt ſo, oh, do it not, let him but conclude his prayer.' 'Pull him down,' ſaith the Governor. I ſaid, 'Sir, let him but pray out a quarter of an hour, but till the Miniſter comes.' But then ſaid the rude ſoldiers to *Baker*, 'Do you not hear the Governor, pull him down,' and up came the ſoldiers like raging beaſts, the Governor ſtanding under the pulpit to ſee the execution. Then the firſt ſoldier of the file with his muſket ſtruck at my brother *Feake*, while he was yet praying, but I ſtanding received the blow, the Governor ſtill purſuing his command, ſo that *Baker*, (being prejudiced as hath been gathered by his words againſt brother *Feake* for his judgment againſt dipping, which this *Baker* was ſo rigid unto) and the ſoldiers pulled, and tore me, who held the pulpit door, with ſuch bitterneſs, eagerneſs, and roughneſs, that they therewith and the blows ſtruck at us, that fell upon the pulpit door, brake it in pieces, and ſo pulled me down, and laid violent hands on him, and carried us away with very great abuſes, both in word and deed, *Pepper* with one party of ſoldiers ſent with me, who did drag, hale, punch and puſh me one way to my priſon lodge, and another party of ſoldiers carrying him, another way, to his priſon lodge. Our friends, who ſeeing us ſo brutiſhly handled offered to intercede, or ſpeak for us, were beaten, threatened and put quite out, and not ſuffered to viſit either of us. After a little breathing being thus haled in and kept cloſe with Sentinels ſet at our doors, my brother *Feake* began to preach out of the priſon window, which I heard at my priſon door, the day being very calm, where the Sentinels ſtood to keep me in, and when they beat up the drums to drown his voice at that end, I at my end was ſtirred up upon the ſame ſubject and text to proceed until the drums

ceaſed, and then he began again. In the afternoon, at the door, on the ſame ſubject, I proceeded, (ſome few of our friends that came from London having gotten into ſome holes and corners in the yard, where they were hid, to hear), but in my prayer was a Serjeant with ſoldiers ſent up to drive me in and ſtop my mouth, a little fierce man, who fell to it with great fury. As I was yet in prayer holding up on a brick in the wall, deſiring with tears the Lord to open their eyes and conſciences, ſome two or three of the poor ſoldiers were ſtruck in their conſciences, and though commanded could not fall on in that duty, but with tears deſired the reſt of their fellows to let me alone, ſaying they would to priſon firſt. But the little fierce Green Dragon, the Serjeant with ſome others, fell on the more barbarouſly, laid hold on my throat as if to have ſtrangled me, tore off my cloak and rent it, and me, my arms, and clothes, ſtill I praying, and looking up to my God whiles they were beating, bouncing, tearing and thumping me. And then I ſaid, 'Yea, ſtrike on, ſtrike on, thus did the ſoldiers deal with Chriſt my Maſter, him they beat, haled, thumped, ſpit on, and the diſciple is not better than his Maſter, beat on, beat on, ſirs, O, bleſſed blows!' But thus they caſt me in, and ſhut the doors upon me, and ſet other Sentinels upon me. So after a little breathing, being ſo cruelly handled, I continued out at my priſon window, preaching, ſinging, praying, and praiſing my moſt dear Lord and Father in Chriſt who hath made me, ſo poor a ſinful wretch, to be numbered and accounted among them that ſuffer for Jeſus, and his Kingdom's ſake. In this cloſe impriſonment, though nothing ſo cloſe as now it is, I was, though very ill and ſore in my body, ſtirred up to exerciſe every morning, as I uſe to do in my family, at the window of the priſon for the benefit of the poor Sentinels who ſtood under in the yard, expounding the Scriptures, and praying, and upon the third day of the week, which was the eighth of the third month, 1655, my brother

Feake with two ſoldiers at his heels paſſing by ſtood ſtill to hear me pray, but an Iriſh Enſign, then captain of the guard (formerly I hear a Cavalier) commanded them to bring him away, and not let him ſtand, but he ſaid, Let me alone a little, I am much refreſhed, pray hear, ſays he, &c. But that Enſign ſent up more ſoldiers, who preſſed much upon him, but he ſaid he was about a good work, and wiſhed them alſo to hear the prayers, but C. *W.* ſaid it was forbidden fruit at that time, and deſired one to come to me, and ſpeak to me to be ſo civil as to forbear praying, but the party refuſed ſo to do. The Enſign called upon them to bring him away without delay and to take him by head and heels, but a poor Serjeant, an officer ſent up for that purpoſe, refuſed ſo to do, and ſaid he had rather go to priſon, yet entreated B. *F.* to come away, and when he found his arguments of no more force with him in that duty the Serjeant was returning, but in the way this wicked Enſign, whoſe feet were ſwift to ſhed blood, ſaluted him as an enemy, for not tearing him away by head and ſhoulders at firſt, with ſword and ſcabbard ſtruck blows in ſuch ſtrength that the iron thereof cut through his ſkull, and brake his brain-pan. So ſadly gaſhed, mangled, and wounded, the blood ſpinning out a great diſtance from him, he with much ado reeled to a ſeat, where he aſſayed to break his ſword, and throw away his ſcabbard, with a witneſs againſt them to wear it no more in ſuch ſervice. But in the mean time this enraged monſter with his naked ſword laid about the reſt who now ran away with B. *F.* as with a light burden, and ſo, like the dog in the ſmith's forge, they that would not ſtir at the many ſtrokes upon God's anvil, whiles we were at our work, could run now at the ſight of a wand, yea, with wind in their wings, lift up their Ephah (Zech.v. 9). Work, poor wretches! Such miſerable ſlaves are they all. According to the Arabic adage (which for want of characters the preſs omits) 'Men' la a-rifo-tchaira,

&c,' they that cannot diſcriminate are company for beaſts. The Serjeant was conveyed into a houſe, and as it was by the Chirurgeon himſelf ſuppoſed, mortally wounded, and a dead man, for after he had taken out two or three pieces of his ſkull, he concluded him doubtful of recovery, if not beyond it, it being ſo contiguous and ambiguous, for at laſt he found it but a hair's breadth between him and death, being hewed to the caruncles and concavity of the head, and ſhould have utterly deſpaired but that the cerebran ſkin was marvellouſly kept from the cuts. Thus blood was ſhed in their rage againſt religion and the worſhip of God, who formerly and when it was their intereſt have with blood contended for it. But the Avenger of blood will purſue theſe ſons of *Belial*, and woe unto them that build their city in blood, for when their plague comes the name of their place ſhall be called Kibroth-hattaavah, the graves of luſt, for whiles the fleſh is between their teeth the Lord ſhall ſmite them. In the interim conſider—

Firſt, that we lie as yet among the pots in the hot kiln, the iron furnace of Egypt between the very hearths, where the fire is kindled in the hotteſt urn among the tile-pots. I mean in thoſe ovens of men's wrath—garriſons of ſoldiers.

Secondly, we may ſee 'e polypragmoſyne,' the pragmatical proclivity and activity of the Cavalieriſh ſpirit to proſecute and execute the rage of the Beaſt upon us under the Sword Sovereignty.

Thirdly, it appears a conviction of conſcience is a capital crime with them, and merits cutting, ſlaſhing, and ſhedding of blood without mercy, calling the touch of conſcience contempt, melancholy, and madneſs, they themſelves being feared, and having made ſhipwreck thereof.

Fourthly, it is evident we are under as barbarous a ſpirit of the Beaſt as at this day exerciſed in any part of the world, and as miſerable a ſervitude as among the Turks, for in all places they will uſe their priſoners civilly, and not

multiply afflictions upon them every day as theſe men do, and ſtudy to, much leſs ſo monſtrouſly and murderouſly hack and hew men for making conſcience in their unreaſonable commands. But to make us in a yet more Turk-like ſlavery, and that what is now our cauſe may be quickly the caſe of others, and of all, if need be, behold the Baſhaws and Begler-Beys ſent down to ſettle their Divans and Militia into every county,* with the Timariots alſo, and Zamiacks, or Deputy Baſhaws, under them, beſides the Janizzaries, Gemoglanies, and Spahies, or Guards, about their Grand S. at Whitehall. And in the army there are alſo their Achingies (Hinds of the Country) or new Militia troops, too, to forage up and down for prey, and to keep the Lord's Lambs from meeting and feeding together on Chriſt's commons. Is not this a new Turkey, then? Let them palliate all as they will with good words, yet as the proverb is, 'Soltanon bila adalin kanakrin bila maa.' 'Their Sultan without juſtice ſhall be found like a brook without water,' and neither his ſoldiers nor multitudes, can ſave him when the time of his judgment is come, 'Iſlah ho-rai, &c.'

Fifthly, it is certain, too, theſe red *Eſaus* muſt have red meat, I mean blood, to feed on, and I eaſily foreſee with what greedineſs and deſign they do provoke poor ſimple plain *Jacobs*, honeſt hearts, by exaggerating and accumulating, to ſome riſing or (untimely) action of defence, for them to have a full blow at them, the belly-ful's of the Saints' blood, which they ſo much threaten and thirſt after, that their Shebna himſelf ſaid he could freely have his arms up to his elbows in their blood.

* About this time the counties of England were diſtributed into diſtricts and with their militia placed under the government of "Major-Generals." The arbitrary conduct of theſe military governors and their ſubſtitutes cauſed great diſſatisfaction.

Sixthly, it is our comfort that all they can do unto us is but to drive us to our God and Father. For a teſtimony whereof, I muſt refer to that beam of light which led me into a moſt lucid and facile ſupputation, proved and illuſtrated in my foreſaid treatiſe, having found very excellent food from the roots of the Hebrew (Chaldy, Samaritan, Syrian), Arabic, (Perſian), and Æthiopic tongues, which I daily converſe with, and reading the Scriptures by, I find Manna wrapped up in the Dews of Heaven.

But to proceed. Upon the 16th day of the third month, 1655, were Commiſſioners ſent from Whitehall, in a colour of juſtice to be done for our diverſified injuries, which by this had made a loud noiſe in the ears of men, ſo as the Courtiers were put to this policy for a ſhift, and in pretence of wrongs done unto us, and to enquire after the matter of fact, we found the integral of their negotiation to be againſt us, that all the information they could ſqueeze out of any ſorts of perſons, ſoldiers or enemies, might be modelled and formed up together againſt us, and ſo preſented to their *Lord Protector*. The Commiſſioners that ſat upon us were *Mr. H.** *Mr. Wood*, *Mr. Creſſet*, *Mr. Carter*, *Mr. Woodard*, *Mr. B.*, *Mr. Oxenbridge*, and *Angelo*. The firſt day they ſat I was interrupted in the duty of expounding and praying in the morning, and from my ſweat out of that exerciſe taken away by the Marſhall in the company of my brother *F.* to be cooled in

* Mr. Cornelius Holland originally ſerved the King, then ſided againſt him, and ſat in the High Court of Juſtice which condemned him to death. He was M.P. for Wendover in the Long Parliament, and his name, as well as that of Col. Whichcot, the Governor of Windſor Caſtle, appears on the liſt of many Berkſhire committees. Mr. Woodard was Vicar of Bray, near Windſor; and Oxenbridge was a fellow of Eton, and Woodard's ſon-in-law.—*Athen. Oxon.* ii. 537.

the other. When we came before them in the Governor's lodgings they told us their errand by the mouth of *Mr. Holland.* We desired to see their Commission and to hear it read, which their clerk did; and as on the one side it signified some wrongs we had received of the soldiers, so on the other side (and which was the main body of the business) upon complaint against *Mr. Christopher Feake* and *Mr. John Rogers*, that they stirred up the soldiers to sedition and mutiny against their officers and the Government, those whose names were underwritten by the foresaid Commission were authorized to examine and make report to him. Given under his seal manual, and in the head of it *O. P.* When we heard it, the design was obvious unto us. Under the head of hearing a little of what we should say, to hear all they could possibly scrape up, or that any could forge or find out against us. Brother *Feake* first spake, and I seconded him. We both told them we were in the capacity of prisoners, and that close, but if they had power to right us we required our due liberty, or at least to be in *statu quo* and to have the liberty of the Castle as the Cavaliers and all prisoners but ourselves had to breathe in; but that denied, we demanded a copy of their Commission. We were bid to withdraw, and after a long debate called in again with this recusation—that we did not own the Government, and therefore they could not allow us a copy of their Commission without we would own the Power that sent them. We told them that was not the point, nor was it now the matter in hand, yet we could assure them we should not own them as they were Commissioners, for so our lives would be in jeopardy and our liberties betrayed, for that what they were to do was as Justices of the Quorum, to hear, examine, prepare, and to give their prepared papers to their *Lord Protector*, whereby he may pretend we have had a trial, depositions taken, and nothing rests to do but to hang or head us; therefore we did not intend to be involved into

ſuch a ſnare, nor to be thus treated with or tried in a hole. Anſwer was made us they had no ſuch deſign, but we told them they had not the intentions of their *Lord Protector* in their hands, however, and through our ſimplicity, and it may be theirs too, he might make his game; but although as Commiſſioners we would not meddle with them, yet as brethren or friends in an amicable way, we were ready to give them or any other an account of our faith, hopes, and ſufferings. Anſwer was made us they were our friends and brethren too, but were ſent for our good, and ſat to hear what injuries we received. We told them, whether for our good or hurt, we excepted againſt the matter, the form, the rule, and the end of their Commiſſion, and could take no cognizance of them in the capacity of Commiſſioners. For matter, I ſaid, for that ſome men, as *Mr. Oxenbridge*, &c. were parties concerned; as to form, they were an illegal court, nor ought they to rake the priſons for informations againſt poor priſoners; but to immure us ſo long and barbarouſly, and now to ſtir every ſtinking puddle to find matter for it is not fair, but like the Tyrant that did firſt hang the man and then hear his cauſe, or the Conſtable (as the *Protector* calls himſelf) that firſt knocks the man down and then bids him ſtand, &c. Beſides, as they were incompetent judges, and no authentic court, ſo the end for which they ſat (let them ſhape it as well as they can) was wicked and unchriſtian, to rake up informations and declarations againſt us in the matter of our faith and conſciences. They told us they were to take report of matter of fact. We ſaw it incumbent to deal plainly with them, and to tell them the utmoſt our enemies had to impeach us was but for words in preaching and praying, or Chriſtian conference with us. *Mr. Oxenbridge* anſwered that words were matter of fact. With that we knew their meaning, and *Mr. H.* ſaid he muſt needs confeſs the charge againſt us was very high; yea, ſaid we, in your calendar or law

See p. 174

you make it Treaſon to do ſuch things as in your Commiſſion ſeems charged upon us; but we valued not that, yet inſiſted upon a copy of their Commiſſion.

The next day theſe locomotive Commiſſioners adjourned to Frogmore, the Governor's houſe beyond the town, and there ſat to hear, receive, and examine all that would come in with any accuſation againſt us, which we in cloſe priſon were kept in ignorance of.

The next day early *Mr. Br.* came to me (who had preached the day before a little too reflecting upon us, but being my worthy friend, I am tender of him and entirely reſpect him), he deſired me to forbear my exerciſe, which I did that morning, and we were haſtened again before theſe gentlemen, with a friend or two then with us. They offered then to read the accuſations and informations they had taken up againſt us if we would conſent they ſhould report them to *O. P.* But we ſaid, as before, our minds were the ſame, and they were the ſame, ſo that as Commiſſioners we would not ſo much as hear them read to us or reply a word to them, with which they were offended, and we renewed our exception againſt them, both grey and black Miſſionaries, the Miniſters having no ſuch rule from Chriſt left them to ſit in Commiſſion thus againſt their brethren, nor had the other either law or conſcience to commend them to this employment, and particularly in that ſome there preſent were conſtituted members of the High Court of Juſtice for the puniſhing them with death who ſhould declare *Charles Stuart* or *any other perſon* chief Magiſtrate in the three nations, &c. and this they had ſolemnly ſworn to ſo. I drew out the Act of Parliament to read it to them, and offered reaſons why we could not in conſcience take cognizance of them, but they were deaf and obtuſe of hearing; yea, two or three of them, viz. *Mr. Wood* and *Oxenbridge*, rent away from the reſt in diſcontent, and ſo, after a little diſcourſe with ſome of the other about the Fifth Kingdom,

they diſſolved, and left us in our cloſe priſons and cruel hands where they found us. They went home with a flea in their ears, it ſeems, but well fraught with informations againſt us to their maſter, who hath doubtleſs laid them up with the reſt for a timous and more terrible treatment, and whiles with *Joab* they ſay brother with the one hand, they ſtab us with the other hand under the fifth rib, and ſhed out our bowels in the duſt. But the Lord will raiſe the duſt of Sion (Ps. 102), and in general we may note,—

Firſt, that Apoſtates are the worſt and ſubtileſt ſort of perſecutors, and of all people moſt brutiſhly bent on their own ways, &c.

Secondly, that more juſtice is to be had from a downright heathen Government than from an apoſtate intereſt.

Thirdly, that the Juſtice of God doth ever avenge with the ſword upon an apoſtate intereſt (Lev. xxvi. 25), 'I will bring the ſword upon you that ſhall avenge the quarrel of my covenant.' So Exodus xxxii. 27. Now this Apoſtaſy is that which immediately precedes the riſe of the Holy Camp or Sword in this our ſtreet firſt (Rev. xi. 3, Dan. vii. 22, 25, 27) at the end of the forty-two months.

This is the male child that Sion's travail will bring forth now immediately, and begin to move us; yea, the ſound of the ſeven trumpets gives the alarm, and the third woe is now at hand. Only this caution love as your lives, as not to ſtay behind at the Call, ſo not to ſtir untimely, leſt you fall before your enemies, like them (Numbers xiv. 40, 42, 44), and they be heightened againſt you. But be firſt united in the inner court and the outer. Yea, theſe called Fifth-Monarchy-Men and Commonwealth-Men muſt unite too* upon the principle of Righteouſneſs to all men, which

* "That party of men called 'Levellers,' who call themſelves 'Commonwealth's-men.'"—O. Cromwell's ſpeech, Jan. 22, 1655, in *Carlyle,*

may eaſily be obtained, and then, March, for the ſigns are upon us, and the trumpets ſound, Horſe, horſe, and away!

Fourthly. . . . . And note from hence, 1. . . 2. . . 3. . . 4. . . 5. . . 6. What eminent teſtimony hath been borne from Heaven againſt theſe practices of theirs. For at Lambeth the great accuſer *Abdy** was ſtabbed that day he ſhould have been rewarded by them for his good ſervice, and another, one *Porter*,† ſpitting upon my head when I was preaching with my head out at the grates, killed one of their own officers, for which he lies in the Gatehouſe, if he be not executed: and here at Windſor, *Mr. Wood*, one of our bittereſt enemies amongſt the Commiſſioners, pleading much for the Governor and ſoldiers in the wrongs they did us, hath not enjoyed himſelf ſince, as it is reported, but was preſently after ſnatched away by a ſudden hand of God, ſo that 'in the way of Thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for Thee.' And as Judges v. 31, 'So let all Thine enemies periſh, O Lord,

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ii. 330. "There have been endeavours—as there were endeavours to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Chriſt might be put to death, ſo there have been endeavours of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy-Men and the Commonwealth-Men, that there might be union in order to an end—no end can be ſo bad as that of Herod's was—but in order to end in blood and confuſion."—O. Cromwell's ſpeech, 17th Sept. 1656, in *Carlyle*, ii. 436. See alſo *Thurloe*, vi. 185.

* "Fleet Street, London, Jan. 18.—There was one hanged this day at Fetter Lane end named James Rawlins, who not long ſince, in a mad ranting humour, took a reſolution to kill the firſt he ſhould meet; and ſo meeting in the ſtreet one Mr. George Abdy, he without any more ado ran him through. He upon the gibbet acknowledged the fact that he killed him wilfully, and profeſſed hearty repentance."—*Merc. Pol.* No. 241.

† "March 28.—Young Porter, ſon of Endymion Porter, who lately carried away a young lady formerly mentioned, was brought before his Highneſs, he having yeſterday run a ſoldier through in Covent Garden, who is ſince dead. He was committed for it to the Gatehouſe."—*Perfect Proceedings*, No. 286.

but let them that love thee be as the ſun when he goeth forth in his ſtrength.' Amen and Amen.

My impriſonment at Windſor continued until the ſecond day of the eighth month. Upon the firſt day of the eighth month, in the evening, a Cornet of horſe came to Windſor with orders from Whitehall (or hell, rather, as from men, but indeed as to us from Heaven) to carry us away with him to Sandown fort; and ſo he gave us time to prepare till the next morning, and we muſt not diſpute it. My difficulty lay in the managing of this ſo ſudden news to my poor wife, who was very weak and in childbed, ready to ſink upon any ſudden motion, in ſo dangerous a condition as ſhe was, being but four days (not five full) out in childbed, after ſo hard and ſore a labour as gave her up in the judgment of them about her for a dead woman, or at leaſt the child, but that the God of prayers, yea, our priſon God, almoſt beyond expectation ſaved both, but yet ſo as the leaſt trouble, grief, or ſudden fright would probably have endangered her as much or more than before. This made me look up to Him in whom I centre, who giveth wiſdom and upbraideth not. Weighing her weakneſs, for a ſpace of time I was treating with her upon the promiſes eſpecially to the perſecuted and ſuffering ones for Chriſt, and ſo was I firſt inſinuating, preparing, warming and affecting her heart with the precious truths and promiſes before I could break the matter unto her, who notwithſtanding received it with tears and troubles of heart, not knowing whether they would baniſh me to Barbados, or ſuch like place, or elſe barbarouſly murder me before we ſee the faces of one another more, and not having time to provide for wife or children, or the poor Priſon-born babe, I was the next morning, notwithſtanding I wanted neceſſaries, and had not riding coat, boots, or things fit for ſuch a journey, yet with muſketeers and officers they fetched me out of my chamber by violence, and rent [Oct. 1655.]

me from my weak wife in childbed and weeping babes and children about me. But I bleſs the Lord that I had firſt ſome ſealing refreſhment to my inward man. For in my ſleep, before I waked in the morning, the Lord met me, at which I ſaid, 'Jehovah is on my ſide; I will not fear what fleſh can do unto me,' with which I awaked, fell to prayer, and aroſe preparing my family with prayers and exhortation to all that were about me; and conveying a few of my papers into the bottom of my ſtockings at the ſoles of my feet, to preſerve them from their hands and ſearches, I was brought away to my brother *Feake*. So by force we were brought to horſeback, and with the troopers led like the flock of thy ſlaughter, O Lord (Zech. xi. 4, 5), the poor people on both ſides the ſtreets, ſtanding weeping, lifting up their eyes, bleſſing, pitying, and praying for us as we paſſed through, to ſee us ſo carried and hurried into baniſhment for the name of Chriſt. I bleſs my God I much rejoiced, though I was ſo harſhly rent from my deareſt relations and worldly commodities, not having one foot of land, houſe, or eſtate in the world to live upon, but only the providence of my God. And yet I ſang, I ſay, in this bleſſed ſuffering for joy, like the bird of the day or the nightingale at the thorn. Yea, 'Dum ova in gremio ſunt.'

The firſt night we reached Farnham. The next morning was very cold, bluſtering, ſtormy, and bitter; yet before I was fully ready they had taken horſe and I was called away and ſtayed for, ſo I haſted and we rode through great rain, ſtorm, winds, and very ſore weather to Alton, I think they call it, where we about noon being ſoaked quite through our clothes, and I and ſome others bitterly ill, feveriſh, and weary, had leave to refreſh a little with fire and proviſions for ourſelves and horſes. So we all tarried there a ſmall time hoping it would hold up, the weather yet continuing as bad as before, and the way which we had to go being worſe, which made the Cornet and his company

of troopers well content we ſhould tarry until the next morn, and myſelf, being very violently afflicted with the headache and in a high, burning, feveriſh diſtemper, did much deſire it, as alſo did our friend, C. *D.* (now Epaphras our fellow-priſoner), he being likewiſe ſomewhat troubled with the pain in head, ſo I laid me down upon the bed, brother *Feake* and his wife being both well, through the goodneſs of God. Yet ſome of them would be going, although we were ſo ill, and the weather and the ways ſo exceeding bad, but then I did beg in that bitter diſtemper to ſtay but one hour upon the bed, only until I had took a little ſlumber, hoping to be a little better by it, but I could not obtain it, notwithſtanding ſome did entreat it for me, yet to no purpoſe, for away they went, took horſe and left me behind with ſome troopers to follow in that violent, bad weather, which I was but ill provided againſt, which when I ſaw I was forced to ariſe, muffle my face about with a ſcarf, and ride after a great pace not only to overtake them, which I ſoon did, but to get to ſome inn as ſoon as I could poſſibly, that I might lie down and eaſe my afflicted head, the Cornet ſtraightways appointing the place we ſhould go unto that night, which was a little village three or four miles ſhort of Portſmouth, whither, I bleſs the Lord that enabled me! though with pain I reached, ſome of the troopers and the Cornet himſelf being with me, late at night; I called for a chamber, which the hoſt brought me into, a little poor pitiful room, and made a fire. I laid my head a little on a bed for eaſe, yet I entreated the man to make a good fire and provide a room for my brother *Feake* and his wife, who were near, the which he did, and ſix, yea ſix, were forced to lie in my room all that night, and ſome four or five the next day and night, when we came to Portſmouth, ſo ill were we accommodated in lodgings.

The next day, being the fifth of the 8th month, 1655, we were in the morning called away with the tide to tranſ-

port out of our native country into exile, which was ſome trial to our fleſh, not knowing their further deſign therein; but whiles I was committing it to our Heavenly Father, I was called away and the friends that were with us, ſo we went to the waterſide; and upon the ſea-ſhore I put my brother *F.* in mind of our Lord and Maſter's practice upon the ſeaſhore to the people, and of Paul's practice at ſuch times to preach; whereupon he agreed, and began ſpeaking until the tide came very near us, then I eſſayed to exhort the people, which were gathered about and did affectionately hear, out of Acts xxviii. 20, but the Cornet forbad me and interrupted me often with the tides riſing upon us and the people's increaſing, ſo I was broken off abruptly in the midſt of the application, at which the people ſhowed abundance of affection by tears abundantly, prayers, and earneſt cries to the Lord for us, ſome laying hold on my hands, ſome on my garments; and ſo we parted, the people looking after us upon the ſhore a long time, and ſo we were carried away to Ryde, toſſing but a little on the ſeas, and there horſed away, and conveyed to Sandown fort. A mile before we came at it, the Enſign who was the keeper being at Brading, and knowing who we were, rode galloping, and overtook us, but gave no reſpect at all; he kept on before us priſoners very full and fell, as it ſeems, againſt us, at a venture ſpeaking ſuch bitter and enraged words, as made us wonder, and the Gaol being as black as the Gaoler and as threatening an earth-hole, without ſhelter, tree, or houſe about it, upon the ſea and bogs, it looked already as if it were the end of the world to us, inſomuch as the very troopers were troubled and wept, ſome of them, to ſee it (a little deſcription of the place I gave in my Poſt-ſcript of the Priſonborn Treatiſe, and ſo I ſhall forbear here), but when we came to it, we were carried into the fort, or rather dungeon, lately made out of the earth, ſo bad as the worſt priſoner, or Cavalier, that ever they had they never caſt into it, though

Mr. Bull ſpeaks of one C. *Kern* put there, nor was ever any priſoner, as the Enſign himſelf ſaid it often, put there before, and for many nights, ſix nights together after our weary journey, they made us lie in our clothes, notwithſtanding they had bedding locked up in a room, allowing us neither bed nor ſtraw, thus turning us into the hole like beaſts. This continued until the noiſe thereof about the iſland ſtirred up ſome honeſt people in Newport to ſend us beds, which was a great refreſhment to us, bleſſed be the Lord.

For other things alſo we were ſorely put to it: the bread we could get for money, which was not eaſy, was very bad, of bad ſavour and of worſe taſte, but good enough for poor priſoners; and the water we drank was of a filthy ditch (without we catched ſome rain now and then), brackiſh, black, and very unwholeſome, if not venomous.

Now to obviate this report of our hard uſage, which brake abroad about the ears of the Court, they cunningly cauſed an order to be printed (which was cried about London ſtreets, and the report thereof ſpread about the nation, to ſtop the other report of their inhuman Tyranny and bad uſage of us), that we were removed to a private houſe for better accommodation. The contents are as followeth of the two orders:—

'*Friday, the 28th of September*, 1655.

At the Council at Whitehall.

Ordered—By His Highneſs the *Lord Protector* and the Council, that *Mr. Feake* and *Mr. Rogers*, now Priſoners in Windſor Caſtle, be forthwith removed to Sandown Caſtle, under the command of *Captain Bourman*,* in the Iſle of

* Captain Bourman was one of the three officers to whom Colonel

Wight, there to be ſecured in ſafe Cuſtody, till further orders, to which purpoſe warrants are to be iſſued, and it is referred to our *Com. Gen. Whalley* to take order for appointing a guard to convey them accordingly.'

Upon this order and other warrants, as if we were felons or fearful villains and miſcreants, we were carried into this Baniſhment. But that ſaying of our Saviour hath ſweetly refreſhed me (Luke xxii. 52), 'Be ye come out as againſt a thief with ſwords and ſtaves? When I was daily with you teaching, ye ſtretched forth no hands againſt me; but this is your hour, and the power of darkneſs.' The other order follows:—

'*At the Council at Whitehall, Tueſday, 9th of October, 1655.*

Whereas His Highneſs and the Council are informed that Sandown Caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, where *Mr. Feake* and *Mr. Rogers* are at preſent ſecured, doth not afford them convenient accommodations, Ordered by His Highneſs and the Council, that the ſaid *Mr. Feake* and *Mr. Rogers* be removed from the ſaid Caſtle to ſuch part of the Weſt of the Iſle of Wight as *Maj. Bourman* ſhall judge meet for accommodation of their health and with reſpect to their ſecurity and privacy.'

The pretence of this order they alſo printed and ſpread about that the *Cornet Str.* who brought us hither, upon his return made report of the badneſs of the place and the want of fitting conveniences (as if they knew it not before), and thereupon they printed it (Oct. 12, 1655) that order was immediately ſent for our removal to ſome private

Hammond entruſted the cuſtody of Charles I. in the Iſle of Wight.—*Ruſhworth's State Papers*, viii. 1351.

houſe, where we might be lodged, and have air and things fitting for our health. Now this counter-report pretending love and pity almoſt quaſhed the former of their cruelty to us, but for all this high noiſe there was no ſuch matter really effected, but people were deluded and gulled, and lulled with a good opinion of theſe Perſecutors for this pretence of their charity to us, and then the enemy could take a better blow in Cruelty at us, and with leſs noiſe than before, as he did indeed at me, as fully as foully, in my removal to this monſtrous Theatre of Tyranny, where I now am, under the rage of wild Beaſts rather than rational creatures, looking when to be torn a-pieces, trampled under foot, yea murdered by them ſhould the Lord, whom I ſerve, ſuffer them to be let looſe. For if ever there were ſuch a people as *Philaſtrius* tells us of (Lib. de Hær.) called Caiani, from *Cain*, whom they honoured for his fratricide, ſaying he had the greateſt power, but his brother *Abel* the leaſt, and they would ſerve the greateſt power, ſure theſe I am now amongſt, of all men I ever ſaw, are ſuch, and their Caſtle may be called not Cariſbrook ſo much as Cains-brook, for they ſerve his power and principle. But for all their pretences, there we continued at that worſe than *Bonner's* Coal Houſe until the 31ſt day of [Oct. 31, 1655.] the 8th month, and notwithſtanding the Lord viſited me like a Father with a ſore and fierce fever in the hole, I was, with that on my back, carried away through ſad ſtorms, ways, and weather, by order from the Court, with ſoldiers and the Enſign from this fort further into Baniſhment to Afton Houſe of Freſhwater Iſland, an Iſle within an Iſle, an exile within exile, &c. 'ubi lateres duplicantur,' and about this time did ſome of the ſiſters of the Church ſociety go to Whitehall with a Demand of me, refuſing to petition or ſend in a prayer, but after long tarrying and much difficulty, word was brought them from *O. C.* with a great aſſeveration, that orders were ſent down to open the Priſon

doors to me, and let me out, but if I would not, then to accommodate me with all conveniences in the priſon. But 'pectus Satanæ mendaciis fœcundiſſimum eſt,' there was never any ſuch matter that ever I heard of, but this policy was invented to pack them away by thoſe that have made lies their refuge. They aſked why the brethren came not, and why my wife came not, but I had indeed ſent letters to her to keep off, leſt parleying with the ſerpent ſhe ſhould be enſnared. With me I carried about my papers in my clothes and other ways hiding them at Afton Houſe in holes and walls, and pots and pans, to preſerve them from the enemy. In this priſon alſo, being near the ſea, I had *Nazianzen's* ſight of ſad ſhipwrecks (as they have done with their faith and conſcience that baniſh us) and of the ſea working (like the wicked enemies, who foam nothing but filth, mire and dirt). In this houſe was I guarded with a fierce company of Herodians (ſoldiers), for as they, who handled my Lord Chriſt ſo cruelly, would fancy *Herod* to be the Meſſias (Epiph. Hær. xx.), ſo they who handle us ſo hardly (ſome of the beſt) fancy their *Lord Protector C.* to be the man on whoſe ſhoulders the Government of Chriſt lies, according to Iſaiah ix. 6 (and blaſphemous ſpeech to his Parliament Jan. 22, 1654, p. 31, 32). But theſe ſat up day and night to watch me, and yet indeed it was a much better priſon than the other for air and other accommodations, for diet, lodging, &c. Thither came my poor wife with two children unto me. Upon the Lord's days, becauſe I preached, were four ſoldiers, or ſore biting leopards, ſet afreſh upon my bones, but upon other days but two, who were renewed upon me day by day, and followed me ſo cloſe with their Herodian rudeneſs that ſome of them would force within my room at unſeemly ſeaſons, and that with very irrational brutiſhneſs indeed. Two or three gentlemen and my dear friends from London who came to ſee me were there aſſaulted, and more ſoldiers of

the fierceſt ſort were fetched from Yarmouth, a mile or two off, to ſeize upon them and their horſes, carrying them priſoners before the Deputy Governor for no other reaſon but for viſiting me. I ſhall paſs over the daily wrongs the people had in whoſe houſe I was kept priſoner, the ſoldiers put upon it by officers. Some poor people of the iſland that creeped in to hear me preach on the Lord's day were wonderfully menaced by the ſoldiers, yea their names taken and conveyed to the Deputy Governor to be ordered or committed, yea ſome of theſe brutiſh bears were ſent abroad, before the poor creatures that came to hear the Word were at the houſe, to force them away leſt they ſhould hear me preach. A Lieutenant came to tell me if I would not preach nor meddle with *L. P.* in my ſermons I ſhould have liberty to take the air a mile or two on the downs, a ſoldier or two attending me, to whom I ſaid that liberty was my right, but to take it on ſuch terms I would loſe my right firſt. The worſt Churls they could pick were appointed to watch and ward me day and night; but this priſon being too commodious where I might ſee friends in the yard if they came to ſee me, it being a good air and in itſelf well accommodated, I was removed from thence with a company of ſoldiers upon the fifth day of the tenth month to Cariſbrook Caſtle, or rather Cainsbrook Caſtle, where I now am. And indeed they did ſhow a moſt unchriſtian inhumanity in the manner of removal of me, the days being ſo ſhort, the ways ſo bad, and the weather ſo bitter, and, to boot, by reaſon of ſo long and lamentable an impriſonment, my body ſo unuſed to it, and yet with poor little horſes at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, ſo late, they called me out and away, which when I boggled at (it being ſo unreaſonable an hour for ſuch a journey in a dark cold night over bleak downs, dangerous ways, ſcarce going by one houſe till Cariſbrook, for my wife and two children), the Leopards conſulted together, and one of the [Dec. 5, 1655.]

officers concluded to pull me out by the ears, and ſo by force and fury to fetch me away; but when I ſaw I muſt go, knowing their bloody diſpoſitions, and that by no means I could be permitted to tarry until the morning, I required of the chief officer, the Serjeant, a copy of his warrant; who ſhowed me his, although the other officers, as they uſed to do, ſaid to ſome others his ſword was his warrant, pointing to it by his ſide, which when I heard I ſaid, 'In good time is it come to that: and thus every thief in the Highway ſays.' But in this Iſle it is the conſtant and common anſwer of the ſoldiers, when we aſk by what law or order, to ſay, 'By this,' drawing their ſword or laying hand on the hilt. The order was to convey me hither. Within one hour or little more the night was come upon us, the ways were exceeding glib and rough with ice and froſts, the winds high and ſharp, which blew the ſnow out of the clouds full upon our faces, the night was very black, diſmal and dark, without moonſhine or ſtarlight, until we came at Cariſbrook town, the road being unbeaten and over high mountainy downs up and down, ſo that we did alight often in the dark, and footed it as far and faſt as we could. My wife being weak, rode, but once was very ill with the unuſual black night air. I alſo was at laſt overcome, and I fell down twice in the way, but with hot waters I was refreſhed a little, and forced to trudge in the dark again, until, with a very dangerous difficulty, contemplating the hard travels of Saints and Martyrs, after ſeveral hours in the night we were brought into a poor houſe in Cariſbrook, and there lying upon a bed I was pretty well refreſhed, after an hour or two, and then a Serjeant came to me in the deep of the night with a copy of the order for the keeper of the Caſtle to receive me his priſoner under *Scobell's* hand, Clerk of the Council in Whitehall, not ſignifying for what cauſe or crime, nor hath any order ſo done to this day, that ever I could ſee,

but only their will and pleaſure. The orders are as followeth:—

'In purſuance of an order of the Council of the 28th of November laſt, you are hereby authorized and required ſafely to convey *Mr. Rogers* from the houſe of *Mr. Urry* at Afton, and ſo to deliver him to the Commander in Chief at Cariſbrook Caſtle, to be there ſecured till further orders from His Highneſs or the Council. Given under my hand at Brook this 4th day of December, 1655.

To *Serjeant Nollard* theſe.

THOMAS BOREMAN.'

'*Wedneſday, the 28th day of November*, 1655.

At the Council at Whitehall.

Ordered—That *Mr. Rogers*, now reſtrained to a private houſe in the Iſle of Wight, be removed to Cariſbrook Caſtle, and there ſecured till further order. And that the Deputy Governor of the Iſle of Wight do take care that he be removed accordingly.

HENRY SCOBELL,

Clerk of the Council.'*

* The removal of Rogers from a private houſe to the ſtricter confinement of Cariſbrook Caſtle was owing probably to the intelligence which the Government had received of a projected inſurrection. On the 13th of November, 1655, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell, "It is certain that the Fifth-Monarchy-Men (ſome of them, I mean) have deſigns of putting us into blood, but I truſt this will be prevented."—*Thurloe*, iv. 191.

Here is no crime nor cauſe, I thank the Lord; which minds me of that in Jer. l. 20, 'Their iniquity ſhall be ſought for, and there ſhall be none.' Nor could their juggle of accommodation be now pretended, it being becauſe of the accommodation rather in Afton Houſe, and becauſe of the incredible cruelty and tyranny of this Caſtle that I was brought hither.

But to proceed. In this pitifully diſtempered eſtate of body I was ſent for from that poor houſe, the Commiſſary and ſome others being ready, to convey me with the foreſaid Sergeant, Corporal, and Soldiers into the Caſtle, and for my encouragement they told us the moon was up; but perceiving their reſolution and importunity, I deſired liberty to prayer, after which we were carried up into the Caſtle; as I came in at the firſt gate I made a ſtand, reſigning myſelf, ſoul and body, into the hands of my moſt dear God and Father through Jeſus Chriſt, not knowing that ever I ſhould come out alive. I ſaid aloud to them all, 'In the name of the Lord do I enter here, and for the ſake of Jeſus,' which they all witneſſed unto, as well enemies as others. I was guarded through the Muſketeers, ſtanding on both ſides with muſkets, pieces, and matches light. I was with my wife and two children put up into a very little, poor, ſmoking, cold garret, upon the top of all which was a common ſoldiers' room; and although it was a little trial to my wife, not having a chair to ſit on, and ſo little that we could not readily turn or ſet about buſineſs in it, the bedſtead which was borrowed taking up the moſt part, and the ſmoke of the chimney turning all into the rooms at ſome times, ſo as we could ſcarce ſee one another; yet did I much rejoice to be ſo pent up.

The next morning came my dear con-captives for this moſt noble and excellent cauſe of the King of Saints, to ſee me, *Maj. Gen. Harriſon* and *Mr. Courtney*, who were a long time kept up in this cloſe Gaol where now I was brought to

be their companion. Some part of our time which was ſpent together was in praying, inſtructing, and praiſing our God, not omitting this His merciful overruling ſweet Providence, which has brought us together into one Gaol as well as one exile, for one and the ſame Maſter, and in one and the ſame Cauſe, Teſtimony, and Truth, and this too by thoſe very men that not long before would not let me come near this Caſtle, leſt I ſhould once have ſeen theſe ſervants of the Lord upon the walls. Upon the Lord's days I preached in my room, as I uſed to do, and who of the ſoldiers would had liberty to hear me for two or three days. Yea *Bull* himſelf, the grand keeper hereof. But this liberty at firſt was to find out matter againſt me for a colour of their pre-intended future Tragedy, Tyranny and Intrenchment. I was alſo ſoon after removed into better rooms, which now *Mr. Bull* brags of, where I now am, but the bedding we had in the garret was taken from us, and we forced to ſome want therein, till ſome at Newport ſent ſome in unto us, for which, with what we hire, we bleſs the Lord, notwithſtanding I told *Bull* I was well contented to lie on ſtraw, or elſe, if they would not allow me ſtraw, on bare boards, only I pitied my poor wife being not well. Some honeſt people of the country did deſire me to miniſter to them ſome light of the Kingdom of Chriſt and of His ſecond Coming, ſo that we kept every fifth day in the afternoon for that purpoſe, and poor people came in apace many miles about to hear me. Yea ſome Preſbyterians who came out of novelty, or with no good will, when they once came brought others with them the next day, ſo that the noiſe was great about the Iſland, and the Prieſts raged, it is reported, leſt their offices ſhould be left unto them deſolate; and ſome Officers came to hear with a purpoſe to catch matter of accuſation againſt me, but went away with approval. Yet the enemy could not reſt thus, but finding nothing which they could fix upon againſt me, and the

[Dec. 27, 1655.] people increaſing, upon the twenty-ſeventh day of the tenth month *Bull* went forth of feaſting, and left men of moſt brutiſh ſpirit to manage his new plot and orders in his abſence, ſetting Sentinels upon my door, and driving away the people who came to hear the Goſpel. Some poor people got in and ſtood under my priſon windows, the Herodian ſoldiers not ſuffering them to come into the room. But ſome poor ſouls having got in did occaſion a deſire to hear me preach in the yard, out of the window, or anywhere, but for this once, but the rude leopards began to rave and roar at that motion, ſaying they would not ſuffer it, and were ſorely incenſed, uttering as we ſay 'Decempedalia' and 'ſeſquipedalia verba,' or 'Uperolcha.' But I, *Maj. Gen.* and *Mr. C.* withdrew into my lodge, and after a little ſpace I began in prayer, and fell a little to preaching out of the window to the poor people who deſired it, and becauſe ſome few of the ſoldiers were touched in conſcience and could not exerciſe their commanded cruelty, they took certain lewd fellows of the baſer ſort, and ſo ſet upon us and the poor people hearing under the windows, who weeped, cried, and prayed that for this once they might hear, but the brutiſh ſoldiers haled and furiouſly drove them away with their ſwords (the law we are now under), men and women, ſhutting and ſhoving them out at the gates, yea threatening to put the poor hearts into their hole or dungeon. Although I did ſo ply the rough brutes with Scriptures, entreaties, tears (as the Lord did melt me then exceedingly, that I think I might ſay with *Aug.* 'Ad pedes prociderem et flerem quantum poſſem'), to let the poor ſheep alone for this once, yea but a little—a little, ſeeing they came ſo far and ſo many miles, about 8 or 9 miles afoot, poor hearts, many of them, yet theſe Soldiers would not hear me, only one or two who heard were weary of this work of the Devil, and others freſh and crank to it recruited them. They had

turned away that day, before this, many great companies round the Iſland, and *Mr. S.* a godly miniſter, told me at leaſt five hundred had come from about the Iſland, could they have had liberty to hear the noſſe of the Goſpel of the Kingdom. But by and by came *Bull* in to make a thorough execution of this perſecution. He took ſome of the Soldiers to taſk, threatening them, and if any were reſolved to hear me he required them immediately to lay down their arms and begone. He told them they were weak and were ſoon deluded, and whatever I ſaid of Chriſt I meant no ſuch thing, and the Caſtle would be in danger to hear ſuch a one as I was, and he would not ſuffer it. After a while the *Maj. Gen.*, *Mr. C.* and I did look up unto our Maker, and proceeded from ſuch an acceſs to ſome diſcourſe with *Bull*, who was worrying of the poor ſoldiers that were not yet in full compliance with him. When we came near he bruſtled up fiercely through a forced compliment which he hath learned the art of. The *Maj. Gen.* firſt ſpake unto him, by whom we demanded his grounds to deal ſo injuriouſly with us and the poor people. But he in a quandary what to ſay (though his tongue is too voluble and violent with lying and ſlandering), he hammered out at laſt that he did it to prevent inconveniences, ſaying the people had itching ears, and he confeſſed he had heard me preach very good things, but he believed I had a deſign in time to inſinuate into the people againſt the Government, to throw down his *Lord Protector*, and ſet up *Maj. Gen.*; notwithſtanding I preached Chriſt, yet that was the thing he perceived I drove on, and with words to that effect he fell on a very beſtial fury of rage and railing upon the *Maj. Gen.*, but yet as very groſsly flattering me to my face as abuſing me behind my back. But we told him we drove on no deſign but the pure deſign of God, nor had I the leaſt word or thought ever (I bleſs God) of throwing down one man to ſet up

another, much leſs *Maj. Gen. H.;* but this was his own device.

And thus this pitiful, ignorant, but, as he carries it, a moſt proud, Sultan-like, inſulting *Orbilius*, and indeed a moſt conceited Wretch of Wrath, he now foully falls upon the poor miſerable enſlaved people of this Iſland, falling into moſt foul, irritating, unſavoury, provoking language, with his wonted impudence, and open faculty of lying, ſlandering, bearding and abuſing, for which he is ſo notoriouſly famous in this Iſle, that we went for ſhame from him, 'ſurdis auribus ſed oculis intentis in Chriſtum,' and ſo left him to that ſpirit that poſſeſſed him. Upon the Lord's day after ſome men of the Iſland came into the Caſtle to hear, but the Sentinels at the door drove them off again and turned them into their own chapel. Yet I preaching near the window and my voice heard through, ſome poor people would ſteal under the wall and in holes to hear, but were ſoon diſcovered and driven away. Yea *Bull* himſelf, when he came out of the Caſtle, did beſtir himſelf, and lay about him, and becauſe ſome of the ſoldiers would ſtand behind the guard door, or make as if they walked about buſineſs in the yard to hear (as they did at Windſor often make as if they lay on the graſs and ſlept), he drives his ſoldiers into the guard and there keeps them in himſelf till I had done (as the *Biſhop of L.* uſed to tell *K. James* a tale in the ſermon time, when any good man preached againſt the Hierarchy or ceremonies of their Church, leſt the King ſhould overhear them, and ſo receive the truth preached), talking to them of Cocks and Bulls as we ſay, leſt any of them ſhould hear a word of the Sermon. In the middle of the week he came to me, and threatened to deal with me and remove me out of theſe rooms if I let my voice be ſo loud as to be heard out at the windows more, to their diſturbance as he ſaid, but I told him I ſhould obey God and not man in this matter; then he bid

the bed I had to lie on to be taken away, which was done, at which I demanded of him ſtraw to lie on; but the good people, eſpecially *Mr. B.* a well affected honeſt man, at whoſe houſe the godly people meet at Newport, kept me from lying on the boards.

Upon the 21ſt or 22nd day of the 11th month the Protector's *Bull* began to roar and gore again more fiercely than formerly, without any cauſe ſhown why, kept us up cloſe priſoners with incredible cruelty, ſuffering none, man, woman or child to come near us, nor our victuals or neceſſaries to come to us, or any of our families to fetch it in unto us, but when we would have ſent out for proviſions the ſervant was ſtayed by the Captain of the Guard and told none ſhould go, which he had orders for, nor any proviſions come to us, but by their hands, which when we heard we perceived clearly their deſign, now began, to deſtroy us, ſtarve us, murder us, or maſſacre us for to make us comply with their luſts, and thus they laid ſiege againſt us to conquer us to their ſide, i.e. to play the Hypocrites, Apoſtates, perjured Wretches and Beaſts with them; and now behold what a Providence of our Father, (who taketh care for the ſparrows and worms and clotheth the lilies, feedeth the birds), did miniſter unto us in this great ſtrait, there was ſent in to the *Major-General* by a Knight of their own party (not of their own make nor of the poſt), peradventure in pity, it being the firſt and laſt of that kind, a little lamb, and to my poor wife bound up in brown papers, and ſo undiſcovered, a neck of veal from Newport, yet, after all this was gone, and we in want as before, we prevailed with a little girl of one of the ſoldiers for a piece of money to fetch us a little bread, we being without; but upon her return they took her and carried her into *Bull's* hall, and there examined, frighted, roughly handled and threatened her, and kept her from coming into the Caſtle any more. [January, 1656.]

This day did a godly miniſter, *Mr. S.*, of Newport, get

in to a lodge of *C. F.* with exceeding deſire to ſee us, and a friend of the ſaid town had ſent us a cold pie; but the honeſt man which brought it was carried before *Bull* with his pie, with whom he had for a long time pleaded, near an hour, for liberty to come into my lodge and bring the pie; but at laſt and with much difficulty he obtained leave for a quarter of an hour with a Corporal, at his elbow, to peep into our priſon upon us. Who, poor man, with tears and troubles did deliver it; and left this with us before the Corporal's face, that theſe cruel perſecutions, ſo far exceeding them, in this matter, that we read of in the book of martyrs, had by all he could perceive ſome bloody deſign againſt us, but he prayed us to be cheerful in the Lord, for they could but kill the body. I hearing of the Miniſter of Chriſt ſtepped to the lodge where he was, with the ſoldier at my heels, but they put him out again at the gate preſently and would not ſo much ſuffer us, ſo much as at the gate, to ſee one another, though at a diſtance and a ſoldier between; ſo I was returning in again to my own priſon full of comfort in my ſpirit at all this, and preſently I heard ſeveral at once, the Serjeant, Corporal, and Soldiers falling upon the honeſt man who had brought the pie, with very vile and blaſphemous language; for that it ſeems he, as he was going out at the gate, with tears did exhort them to take heed of what they did, and to beware of perſecuting and offending of Chriſt's little ones, &c. But they brake out many at once, 'What! What! Preaching! We will have no preaching, no ſermonizing, none of the Spirit, begone about your buſineſs. What! you turn preacher too. All preachers now!' with much more of ſuch ungracious, unſavoury ſtuff. At which I confeſs my heart ached; and by a mere Providence hearing God and his Ordinances ſo blaſphemed and mocked at, I could not but turn me, contrary to my intention and purpoſe, to them, and particularly ſpake to one *King*, ſaying, 'O, Sirs, I am ſorry to hear ſuch words, from you indeed I did hope better

things than ſo to ſcoff and mock at preaching at the Word and Spirit, indeed I have ſcarce heard the like or worſe from the worſt Cavaliers, and will you imitate them in this alſo?' At which they were incenſed and turned upon me bruſtling like wild boars whoſe tuſks were whetted in their own foam, and ſo fell bitterly upon me and told me I was their priſoner and I did not know it, meaning, I ſuppoſe, for that I durſt be ſo bold as to reprove them. I told them I was the Lord's priſoner for all that, for whoſe ſake I was willing to ſuffer bonds. But ſaid *K.*, the Serjeant, 'You are not in priſon for the Lord.' 'For what then?' ſaid I, (for I am ſure none of their Orders or Mittimuſes that ever I could ſee yet did ever ſignify any cauſe why they committed me, and have kept me now in ſeveral priſons nearly two years already and in baniſhment.) 'If we are tranſgreſſors and you have matter againſt us, why do ye not try us? O ſearch into your conſciences, for you never treated the Cavaliers ſo brutiſhly here.' (Nay, they would let the Cavaliers that were there liberty to go abroad and ride about to Newport, and up and down to ale-houſes, drinking, feaſting, gaming, and committing ſin every day and partake with them too in it, yet we muſt gnaw the bit and be kept without bread.) 'Is this righteous in the ſight of God?' *Corporal Haddaways* anſwered me that we were worſe than Cavaliers therefore. Then I perceived that their teeth were on edge to be upon me, and one bade me begone in; but being warm in my ſpirit 'Quo magis illi furunt eo amplius procedo,' as Luther ſaid, I told them I was doing no harm, and prayed them to conſult with the word of God about their preſent condition; but then came out an old man and bid me go in; I told him I was about the Lord's work and did no harm, nor was I ever forbid to ſtand in that place where I ſtood, and I did think it as good ground to ſtand on as that in my priſon; but now they began fierce upon me, many at once, like ſo many wide-

mouthed wolves, to fall on, as if they would not have left the bones until the morrow, and out came *Bull*, who immediately, without hearing me, gave them either the ſign or the word to fall upon me, notwithſtanding I cried out to him, 'What have I done, only rebuked ſin and blaſphemy.' But he was far more barbarous than the Heathen chief captain of the band (Acts xxi. 31, 32), who, as ſoon as he came, they left beating of Paul, and he reſcued him; but this worſe than Heathen was hot in his gall, and greedy, 'ſurdis auribus ſed plenis faucibus,' he commanded and encouraged them, and looked on and directed them with his cane to do it; and as ſoon as he came the cruel Soldiers, armed as for a combat, fell thick upon me with their bent fiſts, beating and ſome haling, as if they had intended my death forthwith (Acts xxi. 31), 'colaphis et verberibus pluentes et grandientes.' After a while two or three of them, eſpecially *S. King*, the Captain of the Guard, then cried out, 'Let us carry him to the Dungeon, to the Dungeon, to the Dungeon with him!' at which I was by ſome hauled and turned about that way; and then I ſaid, as they were thruſting, pulling, and ſtriking me, 'Yea, yea, with all my heart, with all my heart, I rejoice more therein, for I ſhall find my dear Chriſt therein, I am ſure, I ſhall find my God there as well as in my chamber, do what you can.' And indeed I was refreſhed thereat. Thus in effect I ſaid and my ſpirit leaped; but when they ſaw my comfort and courage in it when they cried out to the Dungeon, to the Dungeon with me, they were daunted at that, and then hauled me up a pair of ſtairs, at the foot of which came ſome freſh ſoldiers to help the reſt, who were weary with haling and abuſing me. One *Robert Jenkins* particularly with his fiſts ready bent, firſt held them to my face to ſhow me them, (to whom I ſaid, 'Ah, I know your weapons') and then he fell upon me amain; theſe greedy brutes learning no other way of preferment and favour with the grand

gaoler *Bull*, before whoſe eyes he ſhowed his valour in violence, but by ſuch exploits, as we ſay, that when they cannot ſhoot men they will ſhoot pigeons, or anything, *Bull* with others crying and following, as Acts xxi. 36, John xix. 15, 'Away with him, away with him.' 'Ah,' ſaid I, 'ſo did the ſoldiers deal with my Lord Jeſus, and the ſervant is not greater than his Lord. But O, thou hypocrite, doſt thou profeſs the Word, and read it, and yet, contrary to the Word of God, Law, or Reaſon, biddeſt thy men to abuſe me thus without any cauſe? the Lord will judge thee for thy hypocriſy and contempt. Doth not the Word ſay to ſoldiers, "Do violence to no man?"' But this renewed their rage and roughneſs, and then this *Serjeant King*, as if he had been at cuffs for his life, fell on afreſh with his fiſts, doubled his blows about my head, neck, and ſhoulders, ſo unreaſonably, that ſome of their creatures cried out to him, 'Hold your hands—ſtay your hands—hold your hands!' But I ſaid, 'Ah, Lord my God, look thou down!—but do you ſtrike on, Sirs—ſtrike, ſtrike, ſtrike! for my Lord Jeſus Chriſt takes theſe blows, for His ſake, well at my hands, though I am ſure not at yours.' But as they had often done before, they mocked at Jeſus. 'Piſh!' ſays the *Corporal Haddaways*, 'what talk you of Chriſt?' But they, ſome hauling, ſome thumping, and ſome beating, had gotten me up a wrong pair of ſtairs, and when they knew that, they never ſtayed to let me come down, nor offered it, but ſome at my back, thruſting, ſome at each ſide, and *S. King* at my hands, pulled me out at length with the Corporal, and all at once pulled me down, at one pluck, the ſtairs, as if they had rent mine arm from my ſhoulders; but falling upon other ſoldiers, by the gracious Providence of my moſt dear Father I was preſerved, my poor wife being by, and the maid ſcreeching and crying, and then they hauled me, almoſt ſpent out of breath, the other pair of ſtairs, and at the door of the room wherein they with ſuch

cruelty carried me, and where I now am, they renewed their violence with ſuch redoubled ſtrength and atrocity, that ſeveral of them laying hold on me, ſome at my back, ſome on ſhoulders, and ſome at ſides, caſt me headlong (who not knowing their deſign could not prevent it) with ſuch an united force, fierceneſs, fury and wrath, as if they meant no longer to dally, but daſh me in pieces, ſo that the leaſt they could have conceived therein was to have broken my bones, or put them out of joint, imitating thoſe ſavage ſpirits filled with wrath which carried my moſt bleſſed Saviour to the brow of the hill (Luke iv. 28, 29), that they might caſt him down headlong. But the ſame God that delivered him, delivered alſo me, a poor wretch not worthy to be named, much leſs honoured thus, and that by a very marvellous appearance, for in the fall my head and face were preſerved from the battery of the ground by lighting upon the arms and ſhoulders of the maid and one of my children, the blow of which threw both them alſo to the ground, but my face was ſo preſerved though my body bruiſed with the fall, which fall I perceived rejoiced the bloody ſpectators at their hearts, and if otherwiſe it was, I think, that I was not quite killed with the fall, as Tully ſays, 'Quia totum telum in corpore non recepiſſet,' to whom I turned with theſe words paſſing through tears unto them, 'Well, Sirs, now you have done thus, O that I could entreat you to ſearch into the Scripture, and ſee if you find any warrant there for this practice. If you do, then the Lord give you the bleſſing for it; but if not, then the moſt righteous God convince you of it, and judge you for it.' And this was all I ſaid to them, knowing they were hardened, and at theſe few words and tears they fell a ſcoffing, and there left me, where I now am at the writing of this, with very great conſolation and joy through believing, foraſmuch as theſe 'verbera' were 'ubera,' full dugs for my ſoul to ſuck out of.

And methinks I now may ſay I begin to be the Miniſter of Chriſt, and the ſervant of Chriſt Jeſus, and companion with Chriſt in the world. As *Ignatius*, when he came to the wild beaſts to be devoured, his bones broken, his blood ſucked, and his whole body cruſhed with them, 'Now,' ſays he, 'now I begin to be a Chriſtian.' Your dainty, mincing profeſſors, who are afraid of ſufferings at this day, ſhall be ſhut out in that day when the Bridegroom comes, for 'Chriſtianus eſt Crucianus' and 'Lucianus,' ſaith *Luther*.

Obj. But we live not under ſuch Perſecutors as the former Saints did, who were headed, hanged, flayed, beaten, broken on racks, toſſed on bulls' horns, rent and torn of wild beaſts, broiled on gridirons, ſtarved, ſtoned, &c.

Anſw. 1. No! If you did, I do wonder where we ſhould find a Chriſtian then, or them that would come running to the tortures as thoſe Martyrs, wearying the Tyrants with their faith, courage, and conſtancy to their teeth as they did, when indeed ye are afraid of and faint at a little plundering, priſonment, baniſhment, ſoft beatings, and eaſy deaths, for the Teſtimony of our dear Jeſus, who now ſuffers.

2. Yet we have ſuch perſecutors of Chriſt and his Cauſe at this day as would not ſpare us were we as high, as reſolute, and of as noble a ſpirit for Chriſt as the former martyrs, who had not learned the State policy of profeſſors (now-a-days) to ſpare themſelves and comply a little, and not to run themſelves into ſufferings, for ſo they call it, but they rather ran to them, accounting it their glory, challenged and provoked in a manner their Tyrants. Now, it is not ſo much becauſe our preſent Nimrods and Oppreſſors are better than the former tyrants, as becauſe we poor-ſpirited Chriſtians and white-livered milkſops are worſer, and indeed a ſhame to the Saints and Martyrs of former days, that we ſuffer ſo little for Chriſt our Lord. Ah,

alas! we love, indulge, eaſe, and pamper the fleſh more than the former Saints ever did or durſt.

3. To anſwer this objection with *Mr. Burroughs* out of Salvian, I muſt ſay to them, then, the leſs they have to ſhow of paſſive obedience the more they are to ſhow of active, and the greater faithfulneſs, conſtancy, and courage in the preſent trials, for as there was ſuch a magnanimity and ſpirit in the ſuffering Saints as made the whole world wonder amazed, and think them mad, deſperate, and beſide themſelves, ſo is there to be in the acting Saints at theſe days, who are to make it a ſport, play, and pleaſure to them to run upon cannon-mouths, ſword-points, and on thouſands for one, in the ſervice of Chriſt. Therefore let us look to it, that we may make amends that way, and that the world may ſay of us alſo, for the active part, ſuch men were never heard of.

4. I had my ſingular conſolation, too, that the Lord hath made it my lot to fall into this fierce *Bull's* hands, of any, becauſe he hath not his fellow in this dominion that I can hear of, for all manner of brutiſh and barbarous tyranny, unreaſonable and inſatiable cruelty, ſo that *Bonner* I believe had not a more apt gaoler for his turn in thoſe times, if *Cluny* or *Alexander** came near him; wherefore let not my words be thought the complaints of a ſqueamiſh ſpirit, for I aſſure you I do heartily digeſt all he can do againſt me, and if it were ſaid of *Luther* that 'paſcitur conviciis,' I may ſay it with no little ſoul-ſolace that 'paſcor conviciis et verberibus.'

5. For that it is ſo teaching a diſpenſation. O, it is good, it is good to be beaten into more good rather than be without it, for theſe blows do make my head ring with the muſic of Heaven. It is ſaid that *Domitian* his mother, when ſhe was of child of him, dreamed that ſhe had a wolf

* Cluny and Alexander, gaolers mentioned in "Foxe's Book of Martyrs."

in her, flaming with fire out of his mouth. Such a flame came out of thy mouth, O fierce *Bull*, as ſhall be ſure to burn thee up, like *Sampſon's* foxes, in the field which thou thyſelf haſt ſet on fire, for thy wickedneſs burneth as fire.

6. Nor is it fit we ſhould loſe ſuch fruit as this by our ſinful ſilence, for, as *Solomon* ſays (Eccles. iii. 7), 'There is a time to ſpeak and a time to be ſilent,' as Is. lxii. 6, 'Ye that make mention of the Lord keep not ſilence.' To be ſilent in ſuch day of rebuke and blaſphemy as this is, is a crying ſin.

But I ſay I have the ſeal of the Lord's acceptance, and Jehovah Shammah is my company in this cloſe bonds and impriſonment, to whom I ſay (as Ps. lxix. 19), 'Thou haſt known my reproach, and my ſhame, and my diſhonour; mine adverſaries are all before thee.'

But to proceed. In this condition, thus beaten and bruiſed, I was laid down, and fear being that my bruiſes were moſt inward, which as yet I had but little felt, means was uſed to have liberty but to ſend out for a little Parmy Citterne * and ſnow water to drink for an inward bruiſe, which they refuſed to ſuffer, with more barbarous tyranny than the very enemies in war ſhow to wounded priſoners, and nothing near to the compaſſion of that gaoler (Acts xvi.) who waſhed *Paul* and *Silas'* wounds, nor to the kindneſs of the barbarians to *Paul* at Melita—the greater will be their judgment. When I began to be cold and ſtiff I began to feel their blows ſore indeed; but by a good providence of the Lord's, the *Major-General* had a precious ointment and ſalve for ſuch purpoſes, as to outward bruiſes, which I uſed. This horrible tyranny of theirs took report round the Iſland and into England our own land quickly, and this began by the means of a poor Barber then in the

* "And telling me the ſovereign'ſt thing on earth
Was Parmaceti for an inward bruiſe."
—*Shakſpeare: K. Henry IV.* Act i. Sc. 3.

Caſtle, who carried the ſaid news of this ſad Tragedy to Newport, where the next day, being market, it abounded, and ſo ſpread of a ſudden; but this poor Barber was brought before *Bull* for it, and hardly eſcaped; yet the truth, which is always beſt to ſtand to, ſet him free from them. Then their work was to lay their heads together to kill this report by denying that ever they abuſed, beat, or bruiſed me, notwithſtanding ſome days after, when I ſtirred forth again, I offered to ſhow them the marks they had given me, both myſelf, wife, and maid being black and blue in divers places divers days after, on the one and thirtieth day of the eleventh month. But after this *Bull* ſent word with an engagement to them we might ſend out for things, which was the firſt time they offered ſo much to me; but I could not compound with them in a Cauſe which was none of my own to compound in. And in theſe ſtraits we had another ſeaſonable experience from our Father, for with the compaſſion which Chriſtians about the Iſland and Newport had to hear of our ſufferings and want of proviſions, they ſent a man, and we deſired him to come to the priſon-gates with ſome proviſions, as bread and meat, &c. every ſeventh day, and a woman once a week with butter for us to buy; and although they were threatened for coming, yet they made conſcience thereof, and continued it to the praiſe of our dear God in this our extremity; ſo that we had ſome proviſion brought to us for our money at laſt, notwithſtanding the vexation of the enemies (for ſo they have declared they are) thereat, ſearching, handling, toſſing, and tumbling our proviſions in their hands up and down, yea, throwing the very butter in the dirt after we have bought it, and examining the very bones of the meat for letters, as they pretended, or ſome other ſecret deſigns; ſuch are the dreads of the Lord upon them. This hath already continued upon us above twelve weeks, and how long it may we know not. Some may think us ſomewhat obſtinate not to engage or

ſubſcribe unto them, rather than be ſtarved or ſo uſed as we are to this day, but indeed it is a comfortable obſtinacy then, and for my Chriſt only, whoſe Cauſe I cannot with a good conſcience betray upon a compoſition with his enemies. What is this obſtinacy but the ſame with the primitive Saints who would not caſt one grain into the fire, to ſave their lives! and ſhall we? God forbid! But as *Nic. Shellenden* ſaid, he that kept off the ban-dogs at ſtave's-end, not as thinking to eſcape them, 'but that I would ſee,' ſays he, 'theſe foxes leap high above ground for my blood, if they have it.' And ſhall not I for my moſt dear Lord make theſe gaping Leopards get it then, 'Saliendo, ſaliendo,' by ſweat and leaping for it too, that all men may ſee they are greedy of it, whiles they give out they deſire it not? Yes, ſurely!

Notwithſtanding all this, their cruelty was yet greater to me in that they knew I had no eſtate, nothing to live upon, nor would they ſuffer one to miniſter unto me or mine, nor one to come in, and ſuch as have ſent in have hitherto miſcarried. I have heard of ſome letters with tokens ſent to me, and at one time five or ſix together, but I never received more than one, with ſix ſhillings and two cheeſes, to this day, being above this twelve weeks now, the tokens not only cauſing the letters to miſcarry, whether through the hands of theſe ſoldiers or no I am not ſure, but *Bull* himſelf keeping ſome of them from me; and then they report about we are bloody men, bloody men, laying, *Athaliah*-like therein, guilt upon the Lord's poor innocent ones, ſaying they intercepted letters which ſhow it. The maid went to this upper gaoler for ſome of my letters after he had done with them, read, and ſhowed them to many with much ſcoffing, but he ſaid they were not fit for ſuch a fellow as I, but bid her tell me when I was ſober and out of my frantic fits I ſhould have them. She ſaying, 'Why, Sir, you have never ſeen him diſtempered yet,' he threatened to kick her down ſtairs if ſhe held not her tongue,

calling her miſnames, and afterwards bade her pack up and begone forthwith that day, for that none ſhould live with us but of his chooſing, my wife all this while being very ill.

The carriers of this Iſland are ſtrictly warned, we hear, not to bring or receive our letters for us, but ſhall bring them all to him. A letter which the *Major-General's* man wrote to ſend out, after it had paſſed his approbation, was returned back again, writ upon in the ſides, and after ſo ſent out, with a moſt ungracious, unſavoury ſpirit, mocking and flouting me thereon by name, ſaying I was in one of thoſe fits which I was in when I was tied to my bed; by which he meant my condition in the way which the Lord took to my converſion, which he had read in my book of Church Diſcipline, among the experiences of the works of grace therein recorded; but this ſo profane a foul-mouthed Iſhmaelite, this ſo irreligious a railing Rabſhakeh, may be ſo miſerable in ſoul and body for want of ſuch experiences and deliverances that he one day may (and ſhall if he make not haſte for 'pœnitentia ſera raro eſt vera') ſeek them with tears, and find no place for repentance; to which judgment I muſt leave him.

But for all this, and an incomparable abundance more from day to day of our ſufferings which I might write, we are accounted no ſufferers, nor this any perſecution, by the preſent Apoſtates and timeſervers. Yea, and notwithſtanding all this tyranny and cruelty to us, my wife and children and all the family kept cloſe priſoners with ſuch heavy and unreaſonable provocations every day, two officers of the army did profeſs to us that in their hearing *Bull* is much blamed at Whitehall for not being more ſtrict and rigid unto us, and ſuffering us ſo much as he does, which is but the very air to breathe in, and he doth what he can to diſcontinue us in that. Therefore, O Lord God of Righteouſneſs, do thou declare whether this be a perſecution or no.

It was deemed ridiculous as well as moſt rigorous in the hotteſt of the wars upon the worſt enemies to have impoſed what they do daily upon us, and yet they have the face to juſtify it, as if it were nothing. Wherein we obſerve: 1. The exceeding, horrible height of their impudence and hypocriſy; and,

2. Their cruel ſubtilty, whilſt they are whipping and beating us, they bid us be quiet and patient, like the tyrannical ſtep-dame, that knocks, beats, and makes the poor child cry, and then whips him without mercy for crying, and ſays he may thank himſelf; they call for patience, and bid us be patient in our ſufferings, whiles they are laying on upon us till they make us cry out, and then they ſay it is our impatience; ſuch an unreaſonable generation of men are our gaolers, perſecutors and murderers; yea they pretend plots, and do this leſt there ſhould be any riſings, when indeed by their inſupportable oppreſſions, perſecutions, and provocations, they do all they can to ſtir us up, whether we will or no, unto it, for the neceſſary preſervation of our lives, liberties, relations, religion, and conſciences, from their ſo monſtrous inhumanity and perſecution in hypocriſy.

3. That they put us into the worſt priſons and hardeſt perſecutions, yea bait us with the wickedeſt and worſt perſons they can find out, men of the moſt notorious debauched principles, practices, ſcandals, impudence and atheiſm, and all this too in pretence of love to us, as appears in their Orders for removal from Sandown Fort; and ſo they ſaid in my laſt removal from Afton Houſe, it was for my better accommodation, but indeed it was for my more bitter affliction in fleſh and worſe uſage, except my dear companions' company.

4. We ſee by this what it is to be ruled by the ſword, which hath neither eyes nor ears but 'pro ratione voluntas.'

5. The impudent practice of the lying ſlanderous reports of us breaks out either immediately before an intended

miſchief, or as ſoon as they have done it. Sometimes they report us mad and frantic, as perſecutors have done, and ſo doth *Bull* and his maſters make as if we wanted ſenſes, when we are fulleſt of the Holy Ghoſt, witneſſing for our dear Chriſt againſt their rotten intereſt and hypocriſy, and ſometimes, as we find before of *Bull*, like *Morgan* to *Philpot* (Fox, vol. iii. 572), they fall a raving, and blaſpheming of God and his tabernacle, and abuſing us as if we were not ſober. So ſaid *Morgan*, 'I ween it to be the ſpirit of the buttery which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to be burned, and, I ween, went drunken to it.' 'But it appeareth,' ſaith *Philpot*, 'you are better acquainted with the ſpirit of the buttery than with the Spirit of God. Wherefore I muſt now tell thee,' ſaith he (and ſo ſay I to thee, thou raging *Bull*, with the very ſame ſpirit and authority of the great Judge of Heaven and Earth), 'thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living God whoſe truth I have told thee, that God ſhall rain fire and brimſtone upon ſuch ſcorners of his Word and blaſphemers of his people as thou art. Thy fooliſh blaſphemies have compelled the Spirit of God which is in me to ſay thus unto thee, O thou enemy of all righteouſneſs; and I tell thee, thou Hypocrite, I paſs not this for thy fire and fagots or what thy bloody heart can do unto me, neither, I thank God my Lord, ſtand I in fear of the ſame, my faith in Chriſt ſhall overcome them; but Hell fire is thy portion and is prepared for thee, except thou ſpeedily repent, yea the hotteſt of Hell for ſuch Hypocrites as thou art.'

At other times we are reported fools, and that is a very pleaſant reproach too. Go on, ſcorn, deride and flout us, as long as you liſt, for this our fooliſhneſs profits us, and ſo for all your other reproaches which are chiefeſt riches wherein we rejoice and make a jeſt of them and of all they can do unto us.

6. It appeareth a plain deſign to ſtarve us or reduce us to ſuch extremity as might make us to ſtoop, and ſo to betray our conſciences and our Chriſt in this Cauſe, as appeared by their impoſing of conditions upon us and the ſervants for the meat we muſt eat, if they went out to fetch us in any: beſides as to my own particular, I confeſs their conditions were moſt hard to me and my family in the paſſive part, they (knowing I lived by Providence, having no means, land, houſe, or eſtate to live upon) kept back not only all people, but all letters, from coming or miniſtering unto me, all this upon me being only becauſe I would not 'perdere ſubſtantiam propter accidentia,' loſe my Chriſt for a crown, nor conſcience for coin, which doubtleſs I might have had enough in my own country if I had ſought or accepted of a deſire to *O. C.* for his grace to remove me near to my acquaintance and friends at London (which my poverty in the world might call for more than any others), who would not have ſuffered me to want, which notwithſtanding the Lord of his mercy prevented (by the help of my honoured Con-captivated Coexiles and other ways), and of his great Grace, gave unto me in this diſpenſation leſt I ſhould ſeek a carnal kingdom. I remember *Lot's* wife lies at the entry of ſuch temptations.

But beſides theſe there be ſome other particular experiences as teaching me,

1. In that I am all along ſo clearly and conſtantly under the Beaſt's rage as if I were, I think, more than others more particularly aimed at, for their goring, guſhing, horning, worrying and grievous perſecuting from one priſon to another, both in my native country and in exile, eſpecially ſince I have been hurried about in this iſland, and put to *Bulls* and *Boremans* who obey the orders of the Beaſt; but eſpecially in the firſt's very brutiſh and indeed barbarous, unreaſonable, puſhing ſharp horns, ſo that it is evident I am thus uſed by the Beaſt's dominion and ſpirit. I remember

that *Purchas* in his Pilgrim tells us of one that did write of the firſt Creation of the Chaos, in which lived monſtrous Creatures, bulls that were headed like men, and dogs with divers bodies, but I leave ſuch fancies to the Adamites, only I dare affirm in this Chaos and confuſion, which precedes the new Creation, men are very monſtrous in their principles and actions, and wild *Bulls* do bear the faces of men to flatter with in this ſerpent eſtate of the old world, whoſe hired men are like bullocks (Jer. xlvi. 21); but (as Jer. l. 27), 'Slay all their Bulls, let them go down to the ſlaughter. Woe unto them, for their day is come, the time of their viſitation.' 'O Lord, rebuke the Company of ſpearmen, the multitude of the Bulls, with the calves of the people, till every one ſubmit himſelf.'

2. In that my moſt gracious over-ruling Father hath made the enemy to impriſon and perſecute me, not only in the ſame way and ſpirit, but in the very ſame places where the Martyrs of old were impriſoned and perſecuted, which did refreſh me indeed, as at Lambeth, that old Butcher's ſhop and ſhambles of the Saints, where ſo many, even *Wickliffe* himſelf, and all along ſince, have ſuffered, their rings whereto they were chained remaining in the walls to this day, which did affect me much to ſee. And after that at Windſor, where eminent martyrs, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, were put, in their way to Oxford, in bloody *Queen Mary's* days.

3. In that I am alſo inſtructed how to want as well as to abound, having paſſed through priſons, reproaches, tumults, beatings and buffetings often, throwings headlong, baniſhment and ſpitting upon, yea ſpoiling of my goods, which hath been much (one letter hath ſignified to me the loſs of an hundred pounds at one time), and in plunderings often, and in perils of life, ſickneſs, fevers, ſtorms, cold, ſnow, and tempeſts, without bed, without bread, in ſore travels and ſeveral other trials. Yet all this for my moſt dear

Chriſt againſt *Cromwell* and the whole earth, bleſſed be Jehovah. Therefore I wait but for Whitehall or the Prætorium hall.

4. In that the enemy though he hath ſought it greedily, yet to this day hath not found any juſt cauſe or colour for my impriſonment and exile, nor ſo much as ſignified why in their Orders of Commitment, which is my great comfort and advantage. As Paul ſaith in his fourth complaint (Acts xxv. 7, 8, xxiv. 12, 13).

5. . . . . .

6. . . . . .

7. In that the Lord hath in this ſchool inſtructed me to preach in tumults and uproars (2 Cor. vi. 4, 5, 6), and in all things to prove myſelf the miniſter of my God.

But before I finiſh we find a freſh aſſault of Satan upon us, in this cloſe priſon, perpetrated to make our bonds the more heavy. Upon the 20th of the firſt month, 1656, came *Captain Floyd* and *Major Strange* with an order from Whitehall to remove *Maj. Gen. Harriſon* from us to Highgate to his own houſe, a priſoner, under pretence of the very deſperate danger of death his father, the Colonel, was in, as alſo his dear yoke fellow ſo near the time of her travail; but our precious Con-captive thus ſurpriſed was in great fears of the ſerpent's ſnares in this order, and would not give them any reſolve what to do until he had acquainted us therewith, aſſured us of his jealouſies leſt his further liberty, company, and outward comforts ſhould be any entanglement unto him or let to his inward joys and priſon experiences, ſo that he did earneſtly deſire us to ſet it before the Throne for a reſolution, which we agreed to, and at the end of that day came in the two again who were to take him into cuſtody, who, after we had given him our apprehenſions, dealt very roundly and plainly with them that he could not thank them for their pretended love, nor did he think his father or wife would be worſe by his continuance in this priſon, but

[20th March, 1656.]

rather the better, for he was perſuaded they ſhould do well, and for a gaol he had rather have this than any for the cruelty thereof, and of *Bull* (who made ſo little conſcience of what he ſaid or did, and who had indeed played the very Beaſt with us), ſo that for ſuffering it was the beſt priſon we could be in, nor would he make his houſe a priſon; to this effect he ſpake, and told them that he could not declare his readineſs to go with them, but if they would carry him away he could not help it. They ſaid they did deſire to ſerve him with all civility and reſpect, and were loath to uſe any violence, but could not go without him, and they were now to take cuſtody of him, and ſo deſired him to prepare himſelf the next day and to give directions which way he would go. But he told them that he would have nothing to do with it, but he was a ſufferer; nor would he direct, nor bear any of the charges, for he was a priſoner; and ſo that night they parted, and we prayed, as we uſed to do together every night. The next morning *Bull* delivered him up to the other two, who took poſſeſſion of him; we had much diſcourſe, and indeed the Lord gave him a very noble ſpirit, though broken in himſelf, to deal plainly both with *Bull* and them, expreſſing his unwillingneſs to leave us behind, or rather his deſire to partake and tarry with us ſtill in ſo ſore bonds. But when we ſaw he muſt be gone, we parted with no little heavineſs for a ſeaſon, and I ſaid to C. *Fl.* 'Sir, tell your Maſters or any that aſk after us, that it were a little more mercy, if they had it, to put us into any Dungeon in London, our own land, than to leave us here in the hands of ſuch Blaſphemers and Brutes ſo ſkilful to deſtroy, but ſtill we bleſs the Lord, for our Father makes it ſweet to us.' We got upon a wall and looked after them till they came near to Newport, and then my dear fellow-priſoner, *Mr. Courtney* (who is left here) and I kept the reſt of the day in prayer, eaſing our hearts and emptying our tears into the boſom of heaven, being a little troubled

for our loſs of ſo precious a help, ſo choice a companion as he was to us.

After this, we being like men out of mind in this iron grave, their cruelty increaſed yet more upon us to tire us out. And *Bull's* brutiſh modeſty was to have impoſed upon the maid ſervant's father that his daughter muſt tell him all the tales that ſhe could; if ſhe heard us at table, bed, or board, but ſpeak a word of *O. C.* or any of their cruelty, that ſhe muſt betray her maſter and bring him word of it, and would have bound her father to it in a bond. To me particularly was their malice monſtrous; they put another ſoldier and his wife and four children into our other room, where *Bull* himſelf had put us, threw our wood and things out of doors, brake open the locks, and nailed up the door from us, with reproachful words to boot, and this by *Bull's* command, but we let them patiently, in our own matters, uſe any tyranny without taking notice.

Strict orders were given that no one dare to ſhow familiarity unto us, and the woman with her four children put into our room was charged when ſhe came in to beware of us, for if any of them were found to be familiar, that is reſpectful or civil to any of us, they ſhould be turned out of the Caſtle without remedy, or if any ſhould but liſten or ſtand to hear me at prayer or in duty to God, except it be ſuch as were or are ſent to liſten under the windows and into holes for that purpoſe, to catch or fetch ſome matter to make a crime of, which above theſe two years they have been raking for, ſo good is my God who blinds them that they ſee not where my infirmities lie moſt—but where the Almighty hath armed me with His buckler of truth, His back-piece of innocency and breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs, there they ſhoot their arrows to hurt me.

As for their rigidneſs continued unto us in cloſe priſon, wherein they keep me and my wife and family, not ſuffering one of us to ſtir out, nor man, woman, nor child to

come at us, the like cruelty was never inflicted upon the worſt of men of late years in theſe nations, neither among Papiſts, Prelates, nor to the Cavaliers, Scots or Iriſh, nor in the worſt of wars.

[14th April, 1656.] Upon the 14th of the 2nd month were two brethren, ſent from the Church at London to viſit us, and particularly to miniſter to me, not ſuffered to come in, the gaoler *Bull* and his complices being hard at bowls, yet had time to forbid it, and more too, ſo that before they returned home to London again, I with my con-captive *Mr. C.* got out at a hole upon the Caſtle wall on high, and they two were let into the Ramparts without the walls, and we ſpake to one another on the walls with tears and joys at their deſire (being their teacher and overſeer), but preſently orders came from the bowlers to the ſoldiers to fall upon the two Meſſengers, which they did pretty greedily, and ſo pulled, tore, and thumped them, who were ſtanding by with nothing but Bibles in their hands, out of the Ramparts into the highway; but becauſe they could not well beat them out of the highways (which was as far off from the Caſtle Wall as I could well be heard with my loudeſt voice), and for that I think twenty were by this time gathered to hear me (and almoſt all poor women), they did no more then but threaten them, and ſend ſoldiers to overſee and look whether any were ſoldiers' wives, that either their huſbands might correct them, for that is an allowed practice with ſoldiers here to beat their wives, or elſe their huſbands be turned out upon it.

Within theſe few days it was reported as if there would be ſome ſtirs in England, at which they rage againſt the Independent and Anabaptiſt rogues as they call them, and particularly threaten what they will do with us upon it, *Corporal Had.* ſaying to his other ſoldiers that if he knew but one of themſelves that were any ways familiar, meaning civil in reſpect, with *Courtney* or *Rogers*, he would run his

ſword into his guts preſently with his own hands. Their daily breathing ſeems to be after our blood, for to name no more the laſt ſecond day *Serj. King* with ſome others took my little child in coats, examined him about us, and with flatteries tempted the child to tell what we ſaid; did, and eat, or anything that he could get out. This *S. King* is ſuch another ambitious, covetous, pragmatical youth as was *Pepper* at Windſor. The title this *King* gives to me is fagot-maker, and ſo reports I hear that I was a fagot-maker up and down. But indeed I may live to make fagots by the King of Heaven's appointment to bind up ſuch ſtubble as they are for the day of wrath, if they repent not. He does alſo rage exceedingly that Quartermaſter Gen. and I have our diſtinct rooms.

Thus are they every day inſulting over us at their pleaſure; if they do but ſee us their hearts ſo riſe againſt us that (as Acts vii. 54, 57) they do even gnaſh, ſome of them, as I have ſaid, with their teeth, and look as if they were ready to run upon us with one accord, notwithſtanding we do endeavour when they do fall foully upon us to convince them with ſoft and ſound words, miniſtering as we are able to their wives (whom they keep poor enough) either in money, clothes, or food, though they dare not be to know it, and ſo returning good for evil; and if any of them be ſeen by another to ſhow any kind of reſpect to us, to do anything for us, or ſtir his hat kindly, he is as I ſaid before under a public check, if not in danger to be turned out.

Theſe are I confeſs but trifles to what might be mentioned, and to what we ſee and ſuffer every day; yea to mention but yeſterday, becauſe it was the laſt day of all, for every day affords us new matter, and ſo I conclude with this tragical hiſtory at preſent."

[They ill-treat his maid, and throw her out at the gate of the Caſtle]

—" where the poor creature is even now, like *Lazarus*, and hath been many hours lying with her lame limbs and bundle for admittance if it may be, but there ſhe may lie yet many a day, they that go by many of them ſcoffing and abuſing her bitterly, knowing all my family is ill, wife and children, and not a ſervant that they ſuffer to live with us and help us in this need. I aſked indeed *King* by what rule he did this, and that on the Lord's day, ſaying if he were a Chriſtian the rule was (Luke iii.), 'Soldiers, do violence to none,' but he made a ſcoff at what I ſaid and turned away in great fury, and then I ſaid, 'Well, the Lord will look down and ſee all theſe things,' at which he turned and ſaid, 'Piſh! the Lord! What do you tell us, the Lord! Who is the Lord? You are not the Lord, are you?' and ſo went on raging and blaſpheming, and the reſt ſcoffing for company, as full of fury as they could hold, who indeed have not the patience to hear the Lord's name ſo much as mentioned unleſs at Ale-houſes and in ſin, ſo ſadly profane are they! and indeed how can they be otherwiſe? When men with wicked and idle courſes have ſpent all their means and cannot, or will not, work, they get into theſe garriſons, to drink and guzzle their pay out before their pay-day comes, and, for other miſdemeanours deſerving too to be caſhiered, can find no way to ſecure their places but by their brutiſh, premeditated and barbarous cruelty to us, wherein they merit moſt that are monſtrous. And theſe things I declare, as in the ſight of the God of truth, to be true, having read over again and again what I have written, and do not know one line I have written too large, the Lord knows.

I had thought long ere this to have been at an end, and that this perſecution would have added or impoſed a Quietus eſt to my body by death, out of the continuance of their cruelty, but it pleaſes the Father that I ſhould yet live as one always

dying under their immanity, and now, ſince that of the poor maid's ſufferings before mentioned, I am entreated by friends to enlarge this ſad hiſtory a little further, but I had rather a thouſand times to ſet it before the Lord my God than once to make mention of it to any below, yet by reaſon of friends' importunity, to whom I muſt not be ungrateful, I ſhall give you a ſhort view of this new link added to my chain ſince.

Since the maid's ſuch monſtrous uſage without any cauſe, and being caſt out at the gate with her clothes rent and torn, where, beſides that, ſhe lay on the ground lame, like *Lazarus* at the gate, ſix or ſeven hours the next day for admittance, and at laſt was let in again with no little ſtir and threatening, I had liberty to go into my dear Co-exile's chamber, not knowing of any deſign they had upon me, which it ſeems they watched for, and had orders from *Bull*, as they ſay, to obſerve when I did ſo, being now reſolved to take their rage from the lame creature (having little credit of their cruelty to her), and to wreak it upon me and my poor weak wife, which they did at preſent thus, (but O Lord, let the remainder of their wrath praiſe thee!) upon a ſudden, after my fellow-priſoner had invited me into his chamber, four or ſix muſketeers, with ſwords, guns, and light matches were ſet upon me there, and ſoon after more followed them, they ſet alſo ſoldiers upon my weak wife and family, yea, into the very room raging, which frighted her for the ſuddenneſs of it, ſhe being as ignorant as I of the meaning of this new piece of tyranny, and ſo keeping us aſunder that we could not come at one another, ſee or hear, ſo as to know of each other's condition or what the matter was, which made it look like a bad buſineſs, as bad as if forthwith they had intended to murder me at leaſt; my wife's ſickneſs ſubjecting her withal to very frightful fancies, fears, and apprehenſions, wondering what would become of me, ſtill aſking after me, and what was become

of me, or what they had done with me; and beſides, to make it a thorough piece monſtrous matter to her, they ſet within her chamber the moſt uncivil, drunken, raging wretches, ſtamping, threatening, grinding their teeth, calling jade, quean, carrion, with many ſuch obſcene names, bending their fiſts, ſtriking, tearing, thumping, railing, with their ſtaggering, if any offered to go in the room, not ſuffering them to ſtir for neceſſaries within the room, offering and drawing the naked ſword upon them with aſſeverations ſeveral times, without any provocation given them in word or deed; and ſoon after followed ten or twelve more, as they inform me, and filled the room with ſuch rude creatures and doings, without any regard at all to ſex, ſickneſs, or condition. As they were at this inhuman ſport, perſecuting my wife and family, thoſe armed ſoldiers with me were not wanting with great violence and fury to execute their orders, as they called it, for I, offering to go to the door with deſire to ſee my wife, being fearful of ſome miſchief to her, though I knew not of this cruel uſage of her in her ſo weak and ſickly condition, was forcibly beaten and punched in again, although I deſired I might but ſtand at the window to ſee her, with as many armed ſoldiers to grind me as they would, but it could not be obtained, which did augment our mutual fears and troubles for one another. But thus were they inſulting over us, laughing at us, and abuſing of us here, whiles others of them were rending, tearing, and ranſacking in my priſon chamber with great violence and threats, pulling the very ſheets off the bed ſo immodeſtly as ſome Turks would abhor, that the maid aſking if they were not aſhamed, they even ſhouted at her again, calling her limping carrion, jade, quean, and what they pleaſed. At all which and infinite other taunts, incivilities, threats, and abuſes, my poor wife was, I may ſay, frighted almoſt unto death, as hath appeared ever ſince, and for ſome time days and nights her continual cry was 'they

would kill her, they would be her death, they will make an end of her, ſhe ſhall never recover it,' &c. Within this time the Commiſſary came to me and told me I muſt be put into a little hole or the dark-chamber at the end of my fellow-priſoner's chamber, they would bring my things thither, but the bed I had allowed me to lie upon they would take away; and ſo, it may be, ſuppoſing they had ſufficiently affected my wife and me for once (if I do not wrong them with charity), they brought what pleaſed them into this cave, where I am now left to feed upon, Heb. xi. 38, 'of whom the world was not worthy; they wandered in deſerts, mountains, in DENS and CAVES of the earth,' and v. 36, 'others had trials of cruel mockings and ſcourgings, yea, moreover, of BONDS and IMPRISONMENT,' this being the 8th or 9th removal, 5th or 6th PRISON, and the 2nd or 3rd year, all which is true, though it may ſeem ſtrange. Into this little dark, cold, ſmoky, ſtinking, and unwholeſome HOLE they put me, my wife and family guarded hither to me. My family, which are five of us, caſt into this one little room, as if like beaſts we ſhould be altogether day and night, and in a room too that would not hold two beds, for one will take up the greateſt part, indeed, too little a cave for one body, the ſoldiers many of them deriding and making ſport to ſee this uſage, though ſome had a little reluctancy and pitied us. Yea, for all my wife was ſo very ill they took away our bedding, which a friend had lent us, and carried it into the Lieutenant's chamber, who had been a buſybody in this tragedy, as it proves to be, and there kept it, ſome ſaying the boards were too good for us to lie upon, and what were we that we muſt have beds, we were priſoners, indeed they would have us to the dungeon, and we ſhould live in that, and that we ſhould know we were priſoners, and the like, although moderate men that have pleaded for them yet confeſs where they have put us in is the very

next degree to a dungeon, and all they can ſay is, others have lived there; but then they conſider not how it was accommodated, hung, kept warm, and fitted for others, and that never any family did or could live in this hole, but had other rooms to live in that were lightſome, more wholeſome, and tolerable, and but that my dear fellow-priſoner's man left a little garret for the maid and child to lie in on his bed, we muſt have lain one upon another like horſes in a litter; nay that they will not allow us neither for our money which they allow to beaſts. Yea, they took away even curtains and valance, not allowing us a curtain to keep out the wind or cold, which are known to be very bitter in this place. All which and more too I truſt I can take thankfully and joyfully for my deareſt Jeſus' ſake. Only I muſt confeſs, the preſent condition, weakneſs, and illneſs of my dear yoke-fellow doth cut deep, and would deeper had not the Moſt High cut a covenant in Jeſus Chriſt with me, which ſtandeth ſure and well-ordered in all things. (Gen. xv. 18; 2 Sam. xxiii. 5).

The ground of this act of tyranny lies, as the reſt does, in their arbitrary breaſts to weary, tire, or provoke, conſume, ſpend us out, break our very hearts' ſtrings with ſuch lingering tyranny, and ſo to kill us if they can that way, who ſeem weary with letting us live ſo long, and ſure the ſpring of this continued freſh-ſprouting cruelty cannot ariſe altogether out of WHITE-HELL. Nor can I conjecture other ſubordinate cauſe as to this unhandſome force upon us from that room, but that then we ſhould ſee their horrible wickedneſs every day, drinking, ſmoking, profaning the ſabbath and name of God at the alehouſe, beating and abuſing the Saints or ſuch as came to viſit us, and if friends came to viſit us that they would not let in, at a back window I could ſee them, which was an offence, but in this hole we know not when any come, nor will they let them

ſo much as with ſoldiers come to ſee us, but turn them away weeping and unknown to us, as two men, friends that came from London, they have done ſo to already, I hear; and now one, a Gentlewoman from London, at this time we by a Providence hear is at the gate, that they will not let come to us, ſo that I think theſe may be the reaſons, beſides the threats of *Serjeant King*, who luſted for this cruelty, and threatened it long.

And here alſo have I done nothing that they ſhould put me into this Dungeon, and that it is a Dungeon, yea, not only beyond *Joſeph's*, but far exceeding ſome felon's in England, I ſhall a little deſcribe it to you. It is ſome three ſteps long and three ſteps broad, not ſo long as one of the little garrets they put us into firſt, when they brought me into this Caſtle with a promiſe of two rooms, two beds, and better accommodation till they have gotten me in, but now they gripe me and perform not a tittle of their promiſes; but 'tis no wonder from men of ſuch principles that they make no more bones of breaking an oath than a ſoldier does of cracking a louſe. Nor is it ſo large as any of the rooms we had at Windſor. Underneath it is a deep low vault, from whence ariſes into the room day and night unwholeſome vapours, winds, and filthy, damp miſts, very dangerous, the boards being broken and rotten. The chimney is a little low thing, caſting ſmoke ſo unreaſonably in ſuch a little cloſe room that it is uncomfortable, and better to be bitten with cold than ſmothered with ſmoke. All the light that comes in is a little dark window, which for many hundred years I ſuppoſe never ſaw the ſun, unleſs a little at nights upon the long days of ſummer, ſo that it looks at noon in the room as if it were night. Before the window is a great hill which keeps off light and air, ſo that the air that comes in to us is either out of the vault, a deep, damp, hollow cave underneath us, exceeding unwholeſome, as we find by woful experience to the fleſh day

and night, or elſe in at the door, and what that is let any one judge, for at the very door, within three ſteps, is the filthy common ſewer, &c. And I think when it is beſt and ſweeteſt it is when there is leſs of the common ſewer air and more of the other, that is, when it ſmells but fuſty and foggy, like a well, cave, or low cellar underground, with raw, cold, and aguiſh humours. Now, if in theſe and other reſpects it be not a Dungeon, and far exceeding many, yea, in many reſpects the very dungeon of this Caſtle, which they threaten me ſo much with, I am much miſtaken.

But now for ſome fruits too of their tyranny, that we may tell you how it taſtes, as from them, ever ſince hath my poor wife been weak and ſick, yea, ſo by fits and through frights as I feared her diſſolution before this, and that which made her yet the more dejected and down, as at death's door, was the want of means, they not ſuffering help to come when ſent for, but rather upbraiding and ſaying, Piſh! we could be ſick and well when we would; the ſenſe whereof made her complain deeply and look upon herſelf as a loſt woman for ſome days. Beſides, the lame maid was now taken ill alſo, ſhe feeling their cruel uſage, lying and complaining full of pain and torment for ſix or ſeven days together, but they would not ſuffer ſo much as a woman ſent for to help her, ſhe keeping her bed, which one in pity lent her to lie on. But we ſought the Lord for help, for compaſſion, for remedy, we not being ſuffered neither to ſend out a letter to ſignify a word of our condition or cruel uſage; ſome ſeven or eight letters we have reckoned they have kept of late, though not a word in them, for the moſt of them, that meddled with theſe matters or their government, only of my wife's ſickneſs, ſending for means, as alſo for a little money which one had of ours, but they neither let thoſe letters go the right way, nor told us of their ſtay, ſo all loſt it is like. All I hear they can ſay is that I dated one of them from 'Cariſbrook Caſtle, a

Den of Cruelty,' which they pretend a high capital crime, ſo afraid are they the leaſt truth of their tyranny ſhould come to light. But the Lord our God heard us graciouſly, and gave us ſome hope of their recovery, inſomuch as my wife began to grow a little cheerful, lively, and in hope to outgrow her frights and fits; but ah! behold their barbarous wickedneſs, O thou God of righteouſneſs, O, how envious are they at thy goodneſs, for this time they take (*Bull* and a company of them being feaſting, ranting, gaming, making merry and bowling in a green they have for that purpoſe, and from this ſport he orders his cruelty, commands a violent party of ſoldiers, not once regarding my wife's long weakneſs and the maid's lameneſs) to ſet upon us afreſh, and ſo tear away this bed alſo, that my wife now lay upon, from under us; but it pleaſed God to give a foreſight of it by ſeveral ſigns I had of a new trouble coming upon us, *Bull* with the ſoldiers being ſo exceeding crank, merry, laughing, and like them in Amos vi. 'at eaſe;' whereat beſides, ſeeing them caſt their eye ſo at my dung-hole lodge, I did reſolve they had a new deſign, ſo communicated my thoughts to my wife, wiſhing her to be of good cheer, and ſo going into my Co-exile's chamber, which is the help we have for air, we locked up our own chamber door, and a while after came in theſe ſoldiers, like greedy leopards, for the bed we lay on, and perceiving our door locked, according to orders with hatchets, ſwords, &c, broke open the door, lock and all, notwithſtanding that I pleaded with them my wife's weak condition, how they had already almoſt killed her; but they would not hear; in they went, tore all the things off the bed and carried away to the very bolſter and pillow, where they now lie in the aforeſaid Lieutenant's chamber. And I was anſwered that in no priſons were felons and murderers allowed a bed to lie upon, ranking us with them. Yea, they had taken away the very ſheets. My poor wife was this while ready to faint, very

ill, and falling into her fits again, through frights, which for preſent were prevented by means, my fellow-priſoner alſo uſing all endeavours to comfort her, but afterwards ſhe fell ill again as ſhe uſed to be before this laſt cruelty renewing her ſickneſs, ſo as all her fleſh would fall a trembling, her whole body be as in an agony, but eſpecially her head, which doth ſwell ſo that for want of the means here, and becauſe they ſeem reſolved to give no reſt, as we think, until they have murdered her or been her death, ſhe muſt now be forced to leave me in their clutches, and, if the Lord make her able, to get to London for the preſervation of her life, which the Lord in mercy grant me.

I ſhall break off abruptly here, by reaſon my poor weak wife is now leaving me and creeping out of this Caſtle gaol, yet Rehoboth, where is room for me, and my ſoul is left at a freſh ſpring. O bleſſed be my God! but I muſt confeſs it is grievous to the fleſh to be left in the hands of ſuch as have threatened and ſeemed to thirſt for my blood as greedily as the dog for the ſheep's; but yet, by God's Grace, they ſhall leap above ground for it, and not get it by gaping, (Ps. xxxvii. 32, 33, 34), 'The wicked watcheth the righteous and ſeeketh to ſlay him, but the Lord will not leave him in his hand; wait on the Lord, and keep his way, and he ſhall exalt thee to inherit the land.' This is a ſure word, and in ſeaſon here where I hope to wait, and wait in hope that will never make me aſhamed, notwithſtanding the violence done to my fleſh, the afflictions of my body and relations, and the danger of death in this Dungeon-like hole, which I hope in Chriſt we dare ſometimes look full face upon and meet; though many times I muſt needs ſay with *Biſhop Ridley*, martyr, I think I could creep into a mouſe-hole, and that is when through theſe late outrageous exerciſes I have fits of ſudden fear and am ſo ſubject to frightings. But O pray! pray! pray

for us inceſſantly with faith, all ye that ſhall hear theſe tidings, that He may always ſtand by us, who ſtood by *Paul* againſt the Beaſts of Epheſus, and before *Nero*, not knowing which way our moſt dear deliverer will come, whether by life or death, to free us from fierce and unreaſonable creatures, though for my own part I rather expect the latter in this place ere long, deſiring to be found faithful unto death in this moſt glorious Cauſe of Chriſt Jeſus, my Lord, King and Maſter. Nor do I think if I die that you will hear the perioding paſſages of their Tyranny or this Tragedy upon my body; or that I ſhall write more to get it out, my papers lying hid under ground, where I fear they will rot, but the Lord will raiſe up the truth from the dead, I do know aſſuredly.

Now to offer my thoughts a little further. From what I foreſee and may eaſily gather, I dare affirm—

1. That either extraordinary ſufferings or extraordinary actings, in either of which we muſt carry our lives in our hands to offer up, are at the door of England. But the laſt rather I look for.

2. But if it break forth and continue in worſe ſufferings by perſecution, &c, I expect it in *Julian* the Apoſtate's way of policy, by returning the worſt of the old Clergy and ejected ſecular P. or ſuch like people and ſpirits into place again, 'ut bello inteſtino expugnarent eccleſiam,' notwithſtanding our perſecutors ſeem at preſent ſo unmerciful to ſome of the honeſteſt and beſt of them, that they would not have them by ſchool* or otherwiſe to earn bread for their families honeſtly, which is monſtrous tyranny even to the worſt of men, and makes my heart

* By an Act of Parliament, paſſed in 1654, and confirmed in 1656, "no miniſter was permitted to teach ſchool in the pariſh from which he had been ejected."—*Collier*, viii. 375; *Scobell's Acts*, part ii. 346.

ſometimes bleed within me. But ſomewhat like to this ſeems their reviving of the old orders, degrees, Popiſh cuſtoms, forked caps, hoods and tippets, and ſuch antichriſtian traſh, which ſo many martyrs have witneſſed againſt, beſides the famous burial of the Archbiſhop of Ireland at *Q. P.* charges in England,* whiles we may rot in his priſons.

3. If in actings amongſt the Saints, as I am moſt inclined to think, then look for ſuch a ſpirit to be doing with, as the Saints had in primitive times to be ſuffering with, like the woman of Valenciennes, who ſaid ſhe would rather burn her body than burn her Bible, and ſo was burnt; or rather that woman which the martyr *Guy de Briz* mentions in a letter to his mother. 'I remember,' ſays he, 'I have read how the poor Chriſtians in primitive times were aſſembled together in great numbers to hear the Word, and a great Commander was ſent by the Emperor to put them all to the ſword, which a Chriſtian woman hearing, haſted with all the ſpeed ſhe could to be at this meeting, carrying her little one in her arms. As ſhe drew nigh to the troop of horſemen ſhe ruſhed in to get through. The Governor, ſeeing her make ſuch haſte, called to her and examined her whither ſhe poſted ſo faſt. She gave him this ſhort anſwer, "I am going," ſaith ſhe, "to the aſſembly of Chriſtians." "What to do?" ſays he. "Haſt thou not heard that I am commanded to put them all to death?" "Yes, yes," ſays ſhe, "I know it well, and therefore make I haſte that I may not come too late, leſt I be not worthy to loſe my life with them." "But what wilt thou do with the little child?" ſays he. "I will carry it with me," ſays ſhe, "that it may alſo have the crown of martyrdom."'

I could tell you in primitive times of whole flocks that

* In April, 1656, James Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh, "was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey, Cromwell allowing two hundred and fifty pounds for the expenſe of the funeral."—*Collier*, viii. 378.

would run in voluntarily to be tormented when they heard Chriſtians were to ſuffer. Now I ſay I do expect as high, forward, and excellent a ſpirit to come down for action, that will make nothing but ſport for Chriſt's ſake to run in among multitudes of enemies in the name of the Lord, and though men account them mad, deſperate, or ſuch as throw away their lives, they will on upon ſwords and pikes, and play as prettily, merrily and cheerfully with cannon-bullets, as at ſtool-ball. And if the Roman, Trojan, and Perſian ſpirit was ſo invincible and reſolute in the day of it, do we think the Fifth-kingdom ſpirit ſhall not be ſo much rather? and what a ſhameful thing is it, as Jerome ſays, that faith in Chriſt Jeſus ſhould not make us as courageous for Him as ever infidels or carnal men were, or are, for their Maſter.

4. For that reſolution goes before action I find in my proſpective that the Lord hath ripened his Saints at a high rate already, eſpecially ſuch hidden ones of his as hang moſt in the Sun of generation light. Methinks they begin to be ſhod with Goſpel preparations (Ephes. vi.) and hoofs of braſs to break in pieces many people (Micah iv.) Theſe Levites, of the order of twenty-four (in Chron. xxiv. and xxv. and xxvi. and xxvii.) who are to execute the judgment thoroughly upon all that have run a whoring from the Lord (Exod. xxxii. 27, 28, 29) with the ſword. In the mean time, O Lord, look down on thy priſoners and behold how greedy theſe beaſts are (as Micah iii. 2) to pluck off their ſkin and fleſh from off their bones, yea to eat the fleſh of thy people, to break their bones and chop them in pieces as for the pot, and as fleſh within their chaldron; yet (v. 4) 'They will cry unto the Lord.'

Now for concluſion, let my moſt dear and honoured brethren, in bonds and out alſo, be of good cheer, full of faith and expectation, unmoveable in the Lord, knowing their labour, their love, and their bonds be accepted (1 Cor. xv. 58); yea your infirmities, my friends, are over-

looked (Jer. l. 20) in the Covenant of Grace, and your Cauſe of (Chriſt) aſſiſted and laboured after by the whole Creation. As Luther ſaid, upon Henry 8's letters againſt him, 'Agant quicquid poſſint Henrici, Epiſcopi, atque adeo Turca, et ipſe Sathan, nos filii ſumus regni." Piſh, let all the Harries, Biſhops, Turks, and Devils do their worſt as long as Chriſt is ours. And ſo we are the children of the Kingdom, we care not, we ſpare not, we fear not, though they kill us, ſpit upon us, beat, bruiſe, impriſon, or crucify us to death for our Chriſt. Therefore, O you, the Lord's priſoners and royal perſecuted ones, in Pathmos-iſle exiles, and in Pathmian priſons, my moſt dear and honoured brethren indeed, and now more than ever, *Maj. Gen. Harriſon* and *Mr. Courtney*, *Mr. Carew*, *Col. Rich*, *Maj. Gen. Overton*, *Cornet Day*, *Brother Feake*, &c, and all the reſt whom I ſalute in the Lord's name, and look towards from this top of Amana (for it is a nurſe as the word ſignifies in the truth), this top of Shenir (where is the proſperous teacher as the word ſignifies), and this Hill of Hermon (Cant. iv. 8), full of dews dedicated to God, yea from theſe Lions' dens and mountains of Leopards, where I am now caſt for a prey by man to be devoured, in Cariſbrook Caſtle, a cloſe priſon and kennel of unclean creatures; from hence, I ſay, do I cry aloud and call upon you, (having no other way to ſpeak unto you but this, where you be in the world) as men already forgotten by ſome, and as dead men out of mind. And now, my brethren in bonds and baniſhment, how reſt you in your Arimathæan ſepulchres? are you not ſweetly embalmed in your ſufferings? and do not the affectionate Marys find you out with their ſpices? or is it a reſurrection time with you firſt, before they can do that? will the Whale's belly vomit you out, and up again, amongſt your brethren at liberty, after you have lain like dead carcaſes your part of the three days? What ſay you, O you honourable ones of the earth that is to come,

to all theſe things? Do you not lie eaſy and ſweet in your priſons and exiles? are not your beds bleſſed and green for your beloved and you to lie down in? O that I were with you! O that I could viſit you! that I could hear what you would tell me! how cheer you, how live you, how feed you, how lodge you, what find you, what feel you, what ſee you, what ſatisfies you, and what enjoy you of the day-ſprings from on high at hand? Doth not the moſt High Jehovah-Shammah ſtand by you ſaying, Be of good cheer, *Harriſon*, *Rich*, *Carew*, *Courtney*, *Overton*, &c, for even to-day do I declare that I will render double unto thee, when I have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim, and raiſed up thy ſons, O Sion, and made thee as a ſword of a mighty man? I am with you, I have oiled your bonds and made them eaſy and ſweet unto you. Yea I have muzzled of this mis-ſhapen Court-Monſter, this ugly Creature, this Baſtard of Aſhdod, this ſeed of the Dragon, begotten in darkneſs, brought forth in weakneſs, and nouriſhed with unreaſonableneſs, growing up in wickedneſs, to continue with ſhortneſs and to be confounded with the fierceneſs of the wrath of God which is at hand (Rev. xiv. 10-20). Wherefore Up, Up, O Concaptives and Co-exiles, if ever now with courage, Sirs, be ready and look about you, for I tell you truly after our forty-two monthed voyage, we may ſee the land. Let us ſing and ſhout for joy, for that our ſails are filled, our tackling is good, our motion is ſwift, our compaſs is true, and we are near the haven; come then, tack about, Sirs, and to our buſineſs, to our work with might and main, make haſte, keep ground, prepare the cable and caſt anchor, yea awake, awake all you that be aboard, for the time is come to viſit the coaſts and ſet aſhore, yea, my beloved, the Sun of perſecution grows now low and will ſet ſoon, O therefore let us ſtand to it like Heart of Oak without warping in the leaſt. O conſider a little, is it comely for us to hang down our heads!

and ſo near the Haven, or to droop at the end of the forty-two months? What—Now!—now to yield or parley about it, being this fort of Truth our ſtronghold hath held out ſo long and valiantly too againſt the Beaſt and his image by all the Saints and Martyrs and for ſo many hundred years; yea and all the Saints that have left us their ſculls, blood, aſhes, and bones behind them for an encouragement, yea the whole creation, yea God, Chriſt, Angels, and men do expect our conſtancy and faithfulneſs to the end; and ſhall we now faint or fear the enemy, ſeeing we are ſo well accommodated with all neceſſaries, yea much beyond our bleſſed predeceſſors for outward things? and upon ſo poor a ſlight ſiege too of the enemy as this is—who is almoſt worſted without hand, and now too that ſuch great relief is raiſing for us by the Spirit of Life, the Fifth-kingdom Spirit, which we wait for every day, ſuch as hath not been heard of for above this thouſand years, and ſhall not we ſtand to it? Shall not we hold it out, and die like Chriſt's men? or ſhall we admit of any compoſition, capitulation or terms with them, or be routed in the rear for want of faith or courage to carry it up? Oh, no, no, God forbid, but let us rally by faith, and by the Grace of God keep our ground like men, and make haſte with the main body, as they began bleſſedly in that wing of honourable Wales,* to move for the relief of the engaged forlorn. For the Lord's ſake make haſte and march up, yea ſally out moſt fiercely, O ye men of courage, upon this Apoſtate and perfidious enemy, with ſuch an undaunted, invincible, and impregnable reſolution as may make them know they are not ordinary priſoners whom they would bury alive in theſe iron graves, for the moſt bleſſed Cauſe that ever was on foot in earth, or that ever was betrayed by men. Come, come, Sirs, pre-

* The Fifth-Monarchy Men relied much on an inſurrection which Vavaſor Powell was to have organized in Wales.

pare your companies, for King Jeſus His Mount Sion muſter-day is at hand; His Magazines and Artillery, yea His moſt excellent Mortar-pieces and batteries be ready; we wait only for the word from on High to fall on, and faith and prayer to do the Execution according to Rev. xviii. 6, 'Reward her as ſhe hath rewarded you,' and then, by the Grace of God, the proudeſt of them all ſhall know we are engaged on life and death, to ſink or ſwim, ſtand or fall with the Lord Jeſus our Captain General upon his Red Horſe againſt the Beaſt's Government, ſo as neither to give nor take quarter, but according to his orders.

Therefore take the Alarum, my brethren, be up and ready, for we are not our own, but Chriſt's, nor are we redeemed to men, but to God; therefore, like champions refreſhed with wine, let the ſhout of a King be heard among us. Are we not yet awakened and warmed? Is it not high time for the two Witneſſes to be uniting, ſtirring and riſing, yea ſtanding upon their feet? and I hope we (you of the magiſtracy and we of the miniſtry) are of the ſame ſpirit with them. Beſides, let us conſider how eagerly Shear-jaſub, or the little Remnant, is making ready for your riſe; yea, Maher-ſhalal-haſh-baz is ready to pitch his great tent and to blow his great trump; yea, the man among the myrtle-trees (Zech. i. 8) on his red horſe is already mounted, if I miſtake not, and ready to march, with his ſword to execute, and fire to plead with all nations; for his bow he uſed upon his white horſe (Rev. vi. 2) hitherto, but the next is his ſword on his red horſe, and the ſlain of the Lord ſhall be many (Iſa. lxvi. 16). Yea, and after the harveſt (wherein I hope to be a reaper, a cutter down or a gatherer in), the blood of the vintage will be up unto the horſes' bridles (Rev. xiv. 20), viz. thoſe horſes that are to carry the 4th Chariot from between the two mountains of braſs, wherein the Lord Jeſus ſits to give laws unto the whole earth (Zech. vi. 1, 7, 8); and this I can eaſily fore-

ſee, for I have a moſt obvious undeniable proſpective of it from this cliff of the rock where my preſent lot is. But ah! Lord, may I ſay, what meaneth this that men be ſo huſh and ſtill then at this day? yea, good men ſo aſleep, ſo ſecure (Zech. i. 11). 'Behold, all the earth ſitteth ſtill and is at reſt.' Why, it is that they may be ſurpriſed as in the days of *Noah* and *Lot*, and with the coming as a thief in the night. Therefore, O my brethren, let us enter the Ark, for no ſafety will be found but in the work, believe it; liſten, for the noiſe of his chariot wheels is in ſome meaſure come upon us; look about, and believe with boldneſs and with gladneſs; yea, up, and make ready to run, to run with theſe horſemen who are at hand; prepare, prepare, put on the whole armour of God to ſtand, outſtand, and withſtand, in this evil day. Awake, awake, yea rouſe up, O Saints, with moſt royal reſolution, and ſhake yourſelves from your priſon duſt, O captive daughter of Sion, for it is high time; yea, the time is now come to ſtart up like Lions (too ſtout for ſufferings as before), putting off your ſackcloth or captivity garments, and putting on your beautiful Zion robes to follow the Lamb with (Iſa. lii. 1, 2). And when you put on theſe robes you muſt put off all thoſe Relations, though ever ſo dear, that may make you ſtagger, yea even ſtamp upon them; as Jerome ſaid, 'If my father were weeping on his knees before me, and my mother hanging on my neck behind me, and all my brethren, ſiſters, and kindred round about me, I'd run over them all,' and in this caſe we are bidden even to hate them if we follow Chriſt. Wherefore, O my moſt honourable Brethren, Con-captives and Co-exiles, yea moſt noble Fellow-commoners at the King's charges, let us up together all at once and fall in all at once (Numb. xiii. 30) with one mind, as one man (Zeph. iii. 9). Appoint the day, appropriate the duty, and to it. Yea, do it with ſuch a ſhout too (Jer. l. 14, 15; Amos. ii. 2) as may make the ears of

the enemies to ring; yea, begin the earthquake (Rev. xi. 13), and rend up by the very roots the foundations of theſe perſecuting Nimrods with their priſons (Acts xvi. 26), ſo as one ſtone be not left for a corner of them; yea, till there be ſuch a trembling, ſhaking, and conſternation, yea a μετάθεσις, tranſlation, over-turning, and total amotion of them, that the Beaſt's government may never have a being more in England, neither in Civils, Eccleſiaſtics, nor Militaries. For Jehovah Sabaoth will confound them and break them to pieces before us, yea this houſe of Saul rejected muſt fall flat before the houſe of David, the little ſtripling, and all this Apoſtative intereſt of Councils, Courts, Triers, Clergy, Academies, and Armies, whom the Lord is departed from. But our Cauſe cannot miſcarry, my friends; it cannot fail us, who are heirs of the promiſe, becauſe every iota of it, as we contend for it, is founded in the new and everlaſting covenant, bleſſed be the Lord the Holy one of Iſrael, who hath already given us ſo many gracious and ſpecifying priſon prognoſtics of the great day of Jezreel at hand.

I am prevented in my word to the little Remnant; I mean the Lamb's faithful followers, of the Woman's ſeed, that keep the commandments of God and teſtimony of Jeſus; but in my Baniſhborn treatiſe (lib. laſt) I write at large to them and of their work (if it ever come to light), though I confeſs my *Bucer*-like hand, which writes but bad, may be ſome let or at leaſt delay therein; yet at preſent I am to bid them BEWARE and PREPARE: beware of running before orders come from Jehovah of Armies, and prepare for them when they come, yea to make all their arrows ready againſt Babylon, for the time to viſit her is now come, and it is eaſy to ſee the ſigns of the times come upon us, yea the ſigns complete them, this little Horn, this laſt B., this ὁ Ἄνθρωπος τῆς Ἀποστασίας (as the learned read ἁμαρτίας), this laſt limb of the Beaſt's go-

vernment and the man that maketh up his number ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſix (as we have proved in Priſon-born), he is now come. O up! and be ready, then, like Roaring Lions againſt the end, the time, times and dividend, to run and climb the wall like mighty men, and Jehovah ſhall utter his voice before you, his dread ſhall be on your enemies who have inſulted over you, but ſhall fall before you (Joſh. ii. 9; Rev. xi. 11); yea, they ſhall tremble and fear, and wax feeble as women (Jer. li. 30; Nahum iii. 13), and become bread for your ſwords to eat, becauſe their defence is departed from them (Numb. xiv. 9). Nor are the moſt godly among them that have apoſtatized theſe times any more to be reckoned amongſt the Lamb's number than *Dan* and *Ephraim*, becauſe of their Apoſtaſy (Judges xvii. and xviii.), were reckoned among the ſealed ones of the 144,000 (Rev. vii. 5, 6, 7, 8). Wherefore up, O my dear Hearts, who are of that number that ſtand before the Throne (Rev. vii. 9), or with the Lamb in Mount Sion (Rev. xiv. 1). Up and be ready with your Ahod weapon; awake, ariſe, O Engliſh Shear-jaſub, for out of Judah, Chriſt with us Gentiles of the ſea, comes forth the corner, out of him the nail, out of him the battle bow, and they ſhall be as mighty men which tread down the enemies as mire in the ſtreets in the battle, and they ſhall fight becauſe the Lord is with them (Zech. x. 5).

Wherefore—1. Be ſure you begin your muſter or to mount your horſes (Zech. i. 8) upon a Mount Sion ground, or in a new covenant principle: that is, purely for or rather with Chriſt and his Kingdom, and for no earthly perſons, things or Intereſts of men whatſoever. Such a war was never yet in the Four Monarchies. And 2. Be ſure that you be fully ſeparate from the Beaſt's dominion in all things and in every miniſtration, as well civil and military as eccleſiaſtic. And furthermore, 3. Be ſure you loſe not the leaſt opportunity or nick of time put into your hands to do the

work when the end comes. And 4. Be ſure you ſet not upon it with your own ſpirits, nor pour out in it your own wrath and revenge, but God's only, and upon ſuch ſubjects too as the Word reveals. Yea, 5. Laſtly, be ſure that you in your actings, executings, and ſufferings, be upon no other bottom or foundation but the Lord Jeſus.

Therefore, Up, O ye Saints, to take the Kingdom (Dan. vii. 18) and to poſſeſs it for ever, for the Gentiles have poſſeſſed the outer Court this 42 months, and 'tis now time to ariſe—yea, high time to deliver thyſelf, O Sion (Iſa. lii. 1, 2), and ſhake off thy duſt to lay waſte the land of *Nimrod* with the ſword (Mic. v. 6, 7). And the Remnant of *Jacob*, the worm, ſhall be in the midſt of many people as a Dew from the Lord, as the ſhowers upon the graſs that tarrieth not for man, yea among the Gentiles as a Lion, who if he go through both treadeth down and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver (Num. xxiii. 24). The Holy City is the Holy Camp in the outward Court of the tabernacle that is to ariſe with the two Witneſſes, and rout the Beaſt that trod it under foot.

Therefore for the Lord's ſake, Sirs, be Valiant, like *David's* worthies, yea *King Solomon's* men (Cant. iii. 7, 8), who all hold ſwords, being expert in war. It is ſaid of *Sadeel* that with *Genes*, a citizen, he fought ſo furiouſly for the then Cauſe of God that he himſelf put a thouſand Spaniards to flight, and ſhall we fear? Regard not your lives for the work of Chriſt when called to it. Bleſſed Lord, when wilt thou raiſe us up with thy Spirit of life, or how long ſhall all lie dead? O what cowards are we now to run into holes and corners for fear of ſufferings! Surely, Lord Jeſus, had all thy Diſciples dealt thus with thee in their generations, there would have been but few Martyrs or followers of the Lamb. O I bluſh for ſhame when I behold them that are gone before with theſe that now follow. *Ignatius* ſaid he had rather be a Martyr than a

Monarch, but now men had rather be Monſters than Martyrs. When the Dragon Emperors gave orders to put all to death that would confeſs themſelves Chriſtians, they came in of themſelves by whole flocks, confeſſing themſelves Chriſtians, and defying the Heathen; they ran in voluntarily to die and to be tormented. But ah, where be they that run in flocks to Whitehall now, ſaying, we are Fifth-Monarchy-Men, or for the Kingdom of Chriſt, and will live and die with our brethren together? (See 1 John iii. 16), 'Hereby perceive we the love of God, becauſe he laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the Brethren.' Now I beſeech the Lord awaken you, if you be of that race, and rouſe you up and ſet you all awork, as upon life and death, with all ſpeed to overcome the Beaſt and his followers, with as lively a ſpirit, as high a zeal, and readineſs to die in the ſervice of Chriſt, and ſo to overcome with the word of the Teſtimony and blood of the Lamb, not loving your lives. Bate me none of my ſufferings, ſays *Gordius* to his tormentors, for it is my loſs then, 'majora certamina, majora ſequuntur præmia.'

Wherefore becauſe I muſt break off with theſe few words to you as to Overcomers (for ſo I truſt you are, or will be, in Chriſt Jeſus), and cloſe followers of the Lamb, I ſhall leave you with that bleſſed man *Mr. Holland's* legacy bequeathed to his friends at his death againſt Popery, 'Commendo vos dilectioni Dei et odio Papatus,' &c. So againſt this Apoſtate generation I commend you, my brethren, to the deareſt love of God and to the deadlieſt hatred of theſe Hypocrites and Apoſtates. Amen. For (Heb. x. 38) 'If any man draw back, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him.'

I would have had a word to this Baſtard of Aſhdod, this illegitimate monſter, had he ears to hear, but his moſt irrational rage hath hindered me, and I muſt be ſilent, with a loud cry to thee, *O. P.*, out of this den, where thou haſt

caſt me ſo inconſiderately, with ſuch cruelty, and for ſo long a time too, of whom I think I might have ſaid, as *Tacitus* of *Galba*, 'Digniſſimus imperandi, niſi imperaſſet.' How worthy hadſt thou been of rule, if thou hadſt not ruled. But as high as thou art, and as low as I am under thy foot, methinks when I am mounted and winged by the Holy Ghoſt, thou art as much under me and my Chriſt whom I ſerve in theſe bonds and in this Cauſe. Yea, as *Cirus Theodorus* ſaid to *Modeſtus* about *Baſil* when he was under his tyranny, 'O *Modeſtus*, why *Baſil* is above thee: thou art but a poor Piſmire to him, though thou roareſt againſt him like a Lion,' and be not offended at it, for I tell thee through thy cruelty I am ſet upon a Mount ſo high, as I ſee thee and all the Kings of the Earth to boot, as proud as they be, but like Hoppimithumbs—I mean but like ants about a molehill, which I laugh at when I ſee them moſt buſy about their neſts, which in one cruſh will be deſtroyed, kicked down, and diſperſed like the duſt on the floor (Dan. ii. 35). Wherefore, Sir, that you had but once this ſight, and if I ſpeak not to a man moſt deſperately reſolved and hardened up to irrecoverable deſtruction, yea to one worſe than a ſtone, yea guilty of the great ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, let me be heard. And O that I might be heard in thy conſcience, O thou! O thou ſinful man! before the decree come forth, and thy ſentence be executed. How ſore a ruin is running upon thee, though thou ſee it not! Wherefore either deliver us quickly quit of theſe dens (admiring our hitherto preſervation from on high, whoſe Angel hath delivered us out of the mouths of theſe ſavage beaſts), and give you glory to God as *Darius* did, if thou canſt find in thy heart ſo to do, foraſmuch as innocence and truth is found on our ſide, or elſe I ſay unto thee by the AUTHORITY of the Lord committed to me, that thou ſhalt DIE like a BEAST, yea more miſerably than in a DEN or a DUNGEON. And as *Romanus* ſaid to

the Tyrant, ſo I tell thee and them about thee, that I appeal from this thy Tyranny, which hath no pity, to the Throne of Chriſt, 'et cito vos omnes' (as *Jerome* of Prague ſaid to his perſecutors), 'ut reſpondeatis coram altiſſimo et juſtiſſimo judice poſt (45) annos'—I ſummon you all that have a hand or heart in this perſecution to appear before my Chriſt, His elect Angels and Saints, the moſt ſupreme power and righteous Judge, after the 1335 days, where We ſhall judge you that now judge us, though this is your hour and the power of darkneſs. So be it, as ſaith the faithful Witneſs, the Amen, for a little ſeaſon, yea a very little while and He that ſhall come will come, and will not tarry.

Even ſo, Amen, come quickly, Lord Jeſus. Amos i. 11, 'For three tranſgreſſions and for four I will not turn away the puniſhment thereof, becauſe he did purſue his brother with the ſword, and did caſt off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever.'

Finis in Imis, Ultimis et Noviſſimis.

Amen. Hallelujah."

"*A Poſtſcript.*

READER. Thou art deſired to take notice, that in the forced abſence of the Author in baniſhment, the Preſs lets many miſtakes in printing paſs uncontrolled, and for want of due help and ability doth miſcarry of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew which was intermingled in ſome eminent paſſages. Now the Lord bleſs thee in theſe evil days, and give thee bowels to the ſuffering Saints and truth, and help thee to follow that which is good, and which make for thy peace and comfort in the world to come. Amen."

"*A Neceſſary Word to the Ingenious Reader.*

My Christian Friend—

It is about a year ſince I had a perfunctory glance and peruſal of theſe papers in this piece called an Introduction, &c, to Priſon-born Morning beams, which I found, as you ſee, ſo infinitely mangled and miſhaped, that I was, and yet am, in ſuch a dreſs aſhamed to own them. Which deformity put upon them by others through want of ſkill, care, or love to the ſuffering author, ſhall be greedily multiplied by ſome men to abuſe me with, upon whoſe back the erratas of other men it ſeems muſt lie till truth and Innocency may come abroad and find juſtice.

But yet I muſt beſeech you to a little charity and candidneſs towards me, and not to impute the many pitiful ſoleciſms of books, which iſſue in my name, to my pen, but to their pates and the preſs together intruſted. For ſome, I hear, ſince my long impriſonment have been glad of the opportunity of traducing me freely about my treatiſe of Church-diſcipline, but I for ever bleſs my God though the unreaſonable ſword hath given them leave to inſult over me and trample upon me, yet the Truth is above them and their malice. She may be blamed but never ſhamed by thoſe monſtrous reports, which be moſt made of her in her ſufferings and bonds, for 'chagor charbecha gnat-jarech' (wherein is written King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Rev. xix. 16), 'Gibbor hodecha ve hadarecha,' yea, 'tſelach rechab gnaldeberemet ve gnanvah tſedeg' is ſome of my daily ſong to my King. Nor do I greatly fear the foiling of the hotteſt enemies I have, with the power of His truth, meekneſs, and righteouſneſs, whether they be the 'Rozenim' (lean ones as rulers are called, Ps. xxii), or the 'Abburim,' fat BULLS (as enemies are called, Ps. xxii. 12), and fierceſt

foes that now triumph over us, for it is their time. Nor had that frothy rabble of airy ſtuff, gathered up together into a cloud of Vapour and exhaled from the dung hill of one CRAFTON, a malignant Prieſt of London, a little before my impriſonment, eſcaped the public fire, but the long lawleſs ſword interpoſed, took away my papers, and plundered from me amongſt them the reply to (what is ſober in) his ſtage-play Treatiſe. Nevertheleſs I do yet more abundantly bleſs the Lord for his light of the ſeven lamps of fire which burn before the throne, only I muſt entreat thee, my reader and friend, to wait with patience and in hope with us till deliverance and liberty to the truth be reſtored, and in the interim mend with thy pen the following erratas before thou proceedeſt in this part called the Introduction.*

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What the other part called Jegar Sahadutha,† or a Heart Appeal, &c, is for errata I am ignorant, nor have I ſeen ſheet of it, only I fear ſo hard a travail, through ſo many obſtructions in the birth and ſo little help from the neighbourhood will at the leaſt deform it, if not endanger the very being of it, in my abſence and exile. Yea, and which is worſe, I am informed thoſe few ſeeming friends that do aſſiſt the birth have agreed to cut off ſome members of that little Treatiſe to facilitate the Birth, but how can it then live? or if it does, ſo monſtrouſly miſhapen as they think, I hear, to make it, I ſhall want will and affection to own it as mine, for I differ from their vote who had rather have it born a cripple than not at all.

My dear Reader,—A word more. It may be thou wilt wonder to ſee the Introduction to a year or two priſon

* The hiſtory of his ſufferings at Lambeth, p. 137-168.

† The hiſtory of his ſufferings at Windſor and in the Iſle of Wight, p. 225-304.

travail of ſpirit put in this place, and therein hear news of an enſuing treatiſe or two about the Two Britiſh Witneſſes, and of a more obvious ſupputation of times according to the Danielian and Apocalyptic accounts; alſo of the 42 months period upon us, and of the ſlaughter of the two Witneſſes in this Street for the ſingle time, dual time, and a dividend, with the myſtery of that number 666; alſo a ſynopſis of the Lamb's Government, ſhewing the difference between the Lamb's and the Beaſt's G.; alſo a very lucid diſcovery of the Kingdom of Chriſt on earth, and the preſent work of Saints in England, the order, inſtruments and matter of the vials, the thouſand years and firſt Reſurrection with the order thereof, and much more, but ſee nothing. Alas! alas! (as Lam. iv. 3) it is becauſe this (Tannin) ſerpent ſea monſter hath ſought to devour it, and the truth betrayers and murderers have purſued theſe males that they cannot come forth, none being ſo hardy to help them, he that offers it makes himſelf a prey. But this poor miſcellany of general matter hath with much ado remained untaken to declare aloud their cruelty, who have hindered and ſtifled the moſt ſpecial.

Much more might be added, in this Tragedy, of our hard trials to the fleſh, both as to the preſent condition of my own body, ſo much diſtempered in this unwholeſome hole of this Caſtle whereinto I am caſt, ſo alſo my wife, whoſe ſufferings have been ſo great in this gaol, that ſeveral Doctors of Phyſic in London have affirmed her ſickneſs to have riſen from the rude handlings and frights with the unwholeſomeneſs of the pit we are put into together, to the evident hazard of her life. (This is known to him in Power). Yea and the reſt of my family with me, ſome or other or all, being continually ill and afflicted with diſtempers, pains, ſickneſs, lameneſs, and other ſore trials of the fleſh. But I had much rather affect to make my condition known to God than to men who have not the bowels

of men. Wherefore 'karenu Shemcha Jehovah mibbor,' we have called upon thee, O God, from this grievous pit of Caines-brook-Chaines.

To conclude; foraſmuch, loving reader, as I find no faith, no truth, or conſtancy in men, but (through the perſecution of undoubted foes and perfidiouſneſs of dawbing and doubtful friends, who promiſed fair but perform foully), all I do for the public is either betrayed, killed, ſpoiled, or obſtructed in my abſence, and a true friend to one in priſon being 'rara avis in terris,' I am forced now, in this third year of my impriſonment and baniſhment, to convert my time more particularly than I had intended to my own uſe and profit, by perfecting my ſearch of and ſtudies in the Holy Scriptures through the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, and ſo Perſian roots, which is my preſent and daily work, and I do bleſs my God for this great bleſſing upon me in that little progreſs which through His Grace I have made into the Pentateuch, Pſalms and Prophets. For by the Hebrew, Chald., Samaritan (Rabbinic), Arabic (Perſian), Æthiopic, Armenian, and Coptic tongues, in all which, except the two laſt, I am now peruſing the Scriptures of holy inſpiration, I have received a moſt ſweet light, taſte, and ſingular comfort to my own ſoul, and have yet a lively hope that I ſhall one day therein ſerve the public again, although for days, weeks, months, and years, I have now lain among the tile-pots in the fiery furnace and burning kiln, and by the walls like a Dead man out of mind.

Now, O all ye friends, fellow-citizens of Sion and fellow-waiters with us for the help of Iſrael, bear us a little in your bowels and boſom before the Father, (me and my deareſt Concaptives and Co-exiles in this glorious Cauſe of Chriſt). When you come before the King into his Preſence Chamber of grace and ſupplication, be ſure you forget not *Joſeph*, and I beſeech you in thoſe open, bleeding, yearning bowels, which hung upon the Croſs, to mind a poor

worm and priſoner of hope (and of a little faith) in this valley of Achor and Eſhcol.

Now I commit you all to the Inner Court comforts and counſels, that ye may be meaſured in theſe diſorderly times by the Angel's cubit, the golden reed, and not by men's rotten rules, according to the which I am laid out and meaſured in the Lord's tabernacle of Teſtament, yea bound with thoſe golden chains which faſten the ſhoulder-pieces to the Breaſt-plate, wherein is put the Urim and Thummim by the finger of God, and thereby I have an anſwer of God to my great encouragement and rejoicing, who yet remain, in the faith, hope, and patience of the Kingdom,

THINE as a heave-offering to the Lord by
the hand of Chriſt, in this fat ſoil,
wherein my foot is dipped in oil,

Jo. Ro."

CHAPTER VIII.

ROGERS carries down the hiſtory of his priſon ſufferings to July or Auguſt, 1656. In September of that year *Sir Henry Vane* became his fellow-priſoner at Cariſbrook; an intimacy appears to have ſprung up between them, and from this time *Vane* was ſpoken of more and more as a leader of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and *Rogers** became the ſtaunch and zealous ſupporter of *Vane*. Towards the end of the year *Cromwell* felt himſelf able to releaſe many of his political priſoners. *Vane* and *Feake* were releaſed on the 31ſt of December, and *Rogers* a fortnight afterwards.†

Jan. 14, 1657. Thurloe, iv. 191; vi. 163, 184.

In the winter of 1655, while *Rogers* was a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, a conſpiracy had been organized in London, which came to a criſis in April, 1657, about three months

* In one of his later publications he ſpeaks of the great comfort he had received from hearing Sir Henry Vane open and apply the Scriptures "in Cariſbrook Caſtle and elſewhere."—Διαπολιτεία, p. 21.

† "Whitehall, Jan. 14, 1657.

It hath been ordered by his Highneſs and the Council that Mr. Rogers, who was committed to the Iſle of Wight, and Mr. David Jenkins, commonly known by the name of Judge Jenkins, be ſet at liberty."—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 344. For an account of Judge Jenkins, ſee "Forſter's Life of H. Martin," p. 258.

"Mr. Rogers, preacher, being releaſed by order of his Highneſs and the Council from the Iſle of Wight, came this Wedneſday, Jan. 21ſt, about three of the clock in the afternoon, into London."—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 345.

after his liberation. The ringleader was a wine cooper of the name of *Venner*, and his accomplices were chiefly from the lower ranks of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. The more conſiderable members of the party—*Harriſon*, *Rich*, *Carew*, *Rogers*, &c.—were founded, but refuſed to act. Some of the deſigns of the conſpirators are explained in the following extracts from *Thurloe*. April, 1657. Thurloe, vi. 163.

"*Reſolutions about ſome deſign of an inſurrection.*

1. That the time with ſubmiſſion to the will and providence of God be the third day of the week, and the ſeventh day of the ſecond month in the night.

2. . . . . .

3. That . . . principally we endeavour and engage againſt the army and principals of the army, the greateſt and . . . . the general and officers, and that according to reaſon and wiſdom we do not ſeparate colours and engage againſt many ſtrong enemies at once, as the prieſts and lawyers.

4. Our judgment is, that having a convenient place and providence we will ſeize upon a troop of horſe and execute their officers and any ſentinel of guard of any and all proved ſoldiers that do oppoſe us, and take their horſes and arms, and horſe our men withal, to take in with us thoſe proved ſoldiers that ſhall ſubmit themſelves.

5. That ſuch gain and ſpoil as is due to the Lord and to the treaſury and work of the Lord, according to the rule and practice of the Scripture, both of gold, ſilver, braſs, and precious things, &c, be brought into a common ſtock and treaſury, and that officers be appointed to that charge, to receive that account and . . . . it accordingly, and that that which is for the brothers for their particular encouragement be equally diſtributed to the whole, thoſe that engage and thoſe that ſtay with the ſtuff; beſides, reſpect is to be had to all others with us in the work, over and above their wages and hire.

. . . . . .

24, *1ſt month.*

. . . . . .

The meeting of *Mr. Portman* and his brother with us, what they propounded . . . the anſwer we gave . . . the

three things he objected. That *Jones* affirms that we have no the ſpirit of God, ſhall be blaſted, &c, and his two reaſons—1. becauſe the ancient wiſe Chriſtians are not with us, as *Mr. Carew*, *Mr. Rogers*, *Mr. Harriſon*, &c, and—2. becauſe the time is not come by two months." . . . .

The inſurrection was a complete failure.

Thurloe, vi. 186. "It pleaſed God to give ſome light into their actions all along," ſaid *Thurloe;* in fact, his ſpies had given him from the beginning an exact account of the whole conſpiracy, and when the proper time arrived "his Highneſs ſent a party of horſe and ſeized upon twenty of them, who had with them twenty-five pair of piſtols and holſters, powder, ſhot, and match proportionable, their ſtandard" [a red lion couchant, with the motto, 'Who ſhall rouſe him'], "and were booted and ſpurred, ready to take horſe and begone." Afterwards ſearch was made and more arms and ammunition were found. Other priſoners alſo were taken, and *Harriſon* was arreſted and ſent to the Tower. *Rogers* was not moleſted.

Thurloe deſcribes *Venner* as a man "that had about two years ſince a place in the Tower, from whence he was removed, being obſerved to be a fellow of deſperate and bloody ſpirit, and was ſuſpected to have had deſigns to blow up the Tower with powder, and would ſay that the time would come that the handmaids of the Lord would make no more of killing men, than . . . . He had alſo ſpake at the ſame time very deſperate words concerning the murdering of his Highneſs. This bloody man was to be the ringleader of this bloody buſineſs." *Thurloe* adds that his accomplices "were mean fellows of no note, but ſuch as had blown up one another by a weekly meeting they had at a place called Swan Alley, in Coleman Street."

Thurloe, vi. 185.

The priſoners were ſent to the Tower, but were never brought to trial.

Two months later the Government received intelligence of another Fifth-Monarchy conſpiracy.

"*An information about Col. Harriſon, &c.*

June 15, 1657. *Col. Harriſon*, *Mr. Pheake*, *Mr. Can*,* and *Mr. Rogers*,

* John Cann was one of the moſt active preachers of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. About this time (1657) he publiſhed "The Time of the End," to which are prefixed two prefaces, one by Feake and the other by Rogers.

meet ordinarily at *Mr. Daforme's* houſe in Bartholomew Lane, near the Royal Exchange, where they profeſs themſelves ready for an inſurrection, the time being now come, as they ſay, wherein the three years and half is at an end in which the witneſſes have lien dead, and that there will be a reſurrection of them.

It is confidently believed that upon this deluſion they will ground an attempt which may be attended with ſome miſchief, they profeſſing it to be their reſolution to deſtroy all that ſhall oppoſe them."—*June* 15, 1657. Thurloe, vi. 349.

It does not appear that this information was acted upon.

In the beginning of the next year (1658) *Cromwell's* Houſe of Commons grew reſtive under his government, they ſcrupled to recognize his "other Houſe" as "the Houſe of Lords," and "ſome ſpake reproachfully in the Houſe of Commons of the other Houſe." "The Protector looked upon himſelf as aimed at by them . . . and he was the more incenſed becauſe at this time the Fifth-Monarchy-Men began again their enterpriſes to overthrow him and his Government by force, . . . he therefore took a reſolution ſuddenly to diſſolve this Parliament." He arranged his plans with his uſual promptitude and completeneſs. Before five o'clock in the morning of Feb. 3, he had deſpatched the following note to the Lieutenant of the Tower. Whitelock, 672. Feb. 1658.

"Feb. 3, 1658.

SIR,—I deſire you to ſeize *Major-General Harriſon*, *Mr. Carew*, *Portman*, and ſuch as are eminent Fifth-Monarchy-Men, eſpecially *Feake* and *Rogers*. Do it ſpeedily and you ſhall have a warrant after you have done." Somers' State Tracts, vi. 482. Burton's Diary, iii. 448, 494.

The formal warrant was forwarded in the afternoon, and the arreſts were made before night.

"OLIVER P.

Whereas we are given to underſtand that ſeveral perſons have been of late endeavouring, inaſmuch as in them lay, to aſperſe, reproach, withſtand, and ſubvert the governors and government of this commonwealth, as it is now eſtabliſhed; and have been at work and ſought by all means to diſturb the public peace, raiſe ſeditions and commotions, ſeeking to diſaffect and exaſperate the

hearts and ſpirits of the people, ſo that thereby they might bring the nation again into blood: And whereas ſome of the contrivers and actors are made known unto us to be *Hugh Courtney*, *John Rogers*, and *John Portman*, who obſcure themſelves in and about our City of London: Theſe are, therefore, to will and require you to make, or cauſe to be made, ſtrict and diligent ſearch for the ſaid perſons, and them and every of them to apprehend, or cauſe to be apprehended and brought into our Tower of London; and that you keep them there in ſafe cuſtody until you ſhall receive our further order therein concerning them, every or any of them reſpectively. And we do alſo hereby authorize and require you to ſeize or cauſe to be ſeized all books, writings, letters, and papers, as ſhall by you be found requiſite; as alſo all ſuch weapons, arms, or any dangerous things, to them or any of them belonging, or that are in their cuſtody. And for the better execution whereof, you are hereby authorized to break open any doors, locks, boxes, or bolts, trunks, cheſts, boxes, or other places. And herein all our officers, as well civil and military, are required to be aiding and aſſiſting you; and for which this ſhall be your Warrant.

Given at Whitehall, this third day of February, 1658.

To *Sir John Barkſtead*, Knt, lieutenant of our Tower of London."

Thurloe, vi. 775.

Having thus provided againſt thoſe who were moſt likely to be dangerous, *Cromwell*, the next day (Feb. 4) went to the Houſe of Lords, ſummoned the Houſe of Commons, and diſſolved Parliament, the laſt Parliament he was deſtined to meet.

The following account of the ſtate of affairs in London, at this time, appeared in a foreign newſpaper:—

"*Extract out of the printed news at Amſterdam.*

De Londres, le 21*m. Febr.* 165$\frac{7}{8}$.

Sur quelque difficultez ſurvenues entre le parliament et le ſieur *Protecteur Cromwell*, de quoy on nous eſcrit, que le meſme Parliament ſ'eſt ſeparée avec un grand meſcontentment, ce que voyant ledit ſieur Protecteur, il ſ'eſt tenu maiſtre abſolu de la

Tour, dans laquelle on eſcrit que *Monſieur Rogers* a eſté mis priſonier depuis peu de jours de quoy on ne parle point du ſujet, et depuis l'on a imprimé quantité de libelles ou lettres, que l'on a diſtribués entre les ſoldats et le peuple, leſquels ne tendent qu'à ſédition. . . . . .

. . . . . .

From Preſident Downing [to Thurloe].

I thought fit by the above extract to let you ſee what news is printed at Amſterdam, which is publiſhed there by a brother of the Secretary of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador laſt here."

Thurloe, vi. 795.

In the mean time the London Government newſpapers were buſy writing down the priſoners.

"Feb. 4, 1658.—It is obſervable that *Major-General Harriſon* and his wife, *Mr. John Carew*, and *Major Courtney*, though formerly ſuppoſed to be perſons a ſtory or two above ordinances,* being deſirous to enter into the way of the re-baptized, have all of them ſometime ſince the beginning of this froſty weather, been dipped, notwithſtanding the bitterneſs of the ſeaſon, and it is further obſervable that when the ſaid *Major Courtney* was apprehended (who, with *Mr. Rogers*, the miniſter, &c, now ſtand committed to the Tower) there were found in his lodgings ſeveral dangerous printed pamphlets, divers of which were encloſed in letters directed to ſeveral perſons in the country, being the very ſame pamphlets with thoſe which have lately been ſcattered up and down among the ſoldiery and elſewhere."

Merc. Pol., No. 402. See alſo Burton's Diary, iii. 449.

"Tower of London, Feb. 10.

"What endeavours have of late been uſed by ſome to pervert the ſoldiery and others from their due obedience is now apparent,

* Sir Henry Vane is ſpoken of by Clarendon as "a man not to be deſcribed by any character of religion, in which he had ſwallowed ſome of the fancies and extravagancies of every ſect or faction, and even became (which cannot be expreſſed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited or unreſtrained by any rules or bounds preſcribed to other men, by reaſon of his perfection."—*Clarendon*, viii. 373.

the ſeditious books and pamphlets which were ſcattered up and down among the army and elſewhere being many of them taken in the lodgings of *Major Courtney* and *Mr. Rogers*, the miniſter, who both ſtand committed to this place, and bundles of the ſame books they were preparing to ſend abroad to infect the people there. But beſides theſe two there is a third who likewiſe ſtands committed here, and that is one *Mr. Portman*, formerly a ſecretary in the fleet under *General Blake*, of the ſame party with *Rogers* and *Courtney*, and every whit as high and peremptory. . . More there are abroad of this gang."

Merc. Pol., No. 402.

But two days afterwards the "Mercurius Politicus" qualifies the charge ſo far as *Rogers* is concerned.

"Tower, Feb. 12, 1658.

Leſt the account from hence lately printed ſhould ſeem to reflect upon *Mr. Rogers*, the miniſter, priſoner here, as if the ſeditious books and pamphlets then mentioned had been found with him as well as *Mr. Courtney*, the truth is none of them were found with him, but he ſtands committed here by ſpecial warrant for other cauſes."

Merc. Pol., No. 403.

Rogers was not detained long in the Tower. He and *Feake* were releaſed on the 16th of April.

Merc. Pol., No. 411.

There was a notorious Fifth-Monarchy meeting-houſe in Swan Alley, Coleman Street. In this had been contrived *Venner's* abortive inſurrection of April, 1657, and from this the Fifth-Monarchy-Men iſſued armed in the later inſurrection of 1661. On the firſt of April, 1658, the Lord Mayor and one of the Sheriffs proceeded to this meeting, and while they ſat on horſeback outſide, the City Marſhall broke open the door and arreſted all who were within. "Old *Brother Cann*" was in the pulpit. The priſoners were ſent to the Counter in the Poultry, and ſome of them, *Cornet Day* amongſt the reſt, were examined afterwards before the Lord Mayor. Nothing could be drawn from *Cornet Day* "till he told them he would give it under his hand to prove *Oliver Cromwell* a juggler by his own confeſſion, and ſo much did he leave with the Mayor in a piece of paper, which was the great charge he was

1658.

afterwards arraigned for." After three weeks he was brought before the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, and came before them with his hat on, carefully explaining that he wore it, not becauſe he was a Quaker, but becauſe he did not acknowledge the authority of the Court. It was of courſe pulled off. He then refuſed to plead. "I require," he ſaid, "that my accuſers come face to face, and I will anſwer to my charge: that is, prove *Oliver Cromwell* a juggler by his own confeſſion." But they preſſed him to plead guilty or not guilty. On the third and laſt day of the trial "*Brother Rogers*" (who had been releaſed from the Tower juſt eight days before) "went with him and ſtood by him at the bar." *Day* ſtill perſiſted that he could prove *O. C.* a juggler, and offered to call witneſſes. The jury "found not the priſoner guilty of the indictment; but for two or three words which he had ſpoken, and brought Scripture for it, that they did not quit him of; for he had confeſſed them and ſtood to the juſtification of them." On this, *Day* was ſentenced to a fine of 200 marks and ſix months' impriſonment, after which he was to find bail. This account is taken from a pamphlet publiſhed at the time.* *Ludlow*, writing probably from memory, gives a ſlightly different verſion of the ſtory:—"Some perſons that uſed to meet in Coleman Street to deplore the apoſtaſy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were ſeized by the Lord Mayor's officers, purſuant to *Cromwell's* orders, as they were coming out from their meeting-place. Amongſt theſe was a Cornet whoſe name was *Day*, and who being charged with ſaying that *Cromwell* was a Rogue and a Traitor, confeſſed the words, and to juſtify himſelf ſaid that *Cromwell* had affirmed in the preſence of himſelf and divers other officers, that if he did oppreſs the conſcientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away Tithes by a certain time now paſt, they ſhould then have liberty to ſay he was a Rogue and a Traitor. He moved therefore that he might be permitted to produce his witneſſes who were then preſent to the particulars before mentioned. But the matter was ſo ordered that he and ſome

* "A narrative wherein is faithfully ſet forth the ſufferings of John Cann, Wentworth Day, &c, called as their Newſbook ſaith 'Fifth-Monarchy-Men,' publiſhed by a friend to the priſoners and the Good Old Cauſe they ſuffer for."—Lond. 1658.

Ludlow, ii. 604-5.

others were fined and impriſoned for their pretended miſdemeanours."

Sept. 3, 1658.

The third of September was in *Oliver Cromwell's* opinion his fortunate day, for on that day he had won the battles of Dunbar and Worceſter. On the third of September, 1658, he died. *Richard Cromwell* ſucceeded to the Protectorate, and ſummoned a Parliament, which met on January 27, 1659.

At this time the ſtruggle for power lay between three parties. Firſt were the ſupporters of *Richard Cromwell*, including *Baxter* with ſome of the more eminent Preſbyterians. Many of theſe men ſupported the protectorate not becauſe they loved it, but becauſe they thought it the neareſt approach to a monarchy which the nation would endure; when *Richard* failed them they tranſferred their allegiance more or leſs openly to the King.

Secondly were thoſe Republicans, Independents, and Fifth-Monarchy-Men who ranged themſelves under *Sir Henry Vane*. *Vane's* republicaniſm was ſincere and uncompromiſing, and in ſpite of a religious enthuſiaſm which bordered upon inſanity, he was one of the moſt able politicians of the day.

The third party was compoſed of officers, and was called the Wallingford Houſe* party, from the quarters of *General Fleetwood*, where it met. Theſe men were noiſy Republicans, and great ſticklers for the "Good Old Cauſe," but as politicians they were ſelfiſh and incapable. The two latter parties, under *Vane* and *Fleetwood* reſpectively, coaleſced for the overthrow of *Richard Cromwell*. They forced him firſt to diſſolve Parliament, and then to abdicate.

Rogers contributed his aſſiſtance in his own peculiar department. "*Richard Cromwell*," ſays *Baxter*, "was not ſo formidable as his father, and therefore every one boldly ſpurned at him. The Fifth-Monarchy-Men followed *Sir Henry Vane*, and raiſed a great and violent clamorous party againſt him among the ſectaries in the city. *Rogers* and *Feake* and ſuch like firebrands preach them into fury and blow the coals."

Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part i. p. 101.

After the abdication of *Richard* the Wallingford Houſe party were for a ſhort time ſupreme, and recalled to power on their own authority the remnant of the old Long Parliament. This

* Wallingford Houſe ſtood on the ſite of the preſent Admiralty.

consisted of those forty or fifty* members of that Parliament who had acquiesced in the *King's* execution, had established a republic, and had clung to their seats in spite of purgings, proscriptions, and seclusions, until they were violently expelled by *Oliver Cromwell.* They resumed their seats on the 7th of May, 1659, and immediately appointed a Committee of Safety and a Council of State. *Sir Henry Vane* was a member of both. *Rogers* was quite as much elated when they were reinstated as he had been formerly when they were expelled, and for his services on their behalf he claimed now as much credit as he had claimed formerly for his zeal against them. In an address "to the Parliament of the Commonwealth now returned to the great exercise of supreme trust," he says: "You are brought together to do your last works by the same hand that blessed you to do your first, neither have we been wanting in our poor prayers to the Almighty, and incessant endeavours with the Mighty, particularly the Army, Council of Officers, and others, to effect your return and the late turn." May, 1659.

But a Parliament of Republicans and Regicides, restored by the Army, and supported by Fifth-Monarchy-Men, was very distasteful to the Country generally, and quickly became equally distasteful to the Army itself. It was particularly odious to the citizens of London, who had been sufficiently frightened by the plots and insurrections of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men in the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, and were now panic-stricken when they found the leaders and allies of these men sitting, not only in Parliament, but in the Council of State and Committee of Safety. The following "broadside" bears witness to the fears of the citizens and to the notoriety of that ill-feeling which already existed between the Parliament and the Army:—

"*An Alarum to the City and Soldiery.*

God grant they may not neglect it.

GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS,

At this time, when our ruin and destruction is upon us, this

* Oldmixon says 65; Echard and Rapin 40; Prynne says 42, and gives their names, "there being 300 members more of the old Parliament yet living, besides those who are dead."—*Prynne's True and Perfect Narrative,* 1659, p. 35.

is no place for many words. The Fifth-Monarchy-Men are armed, officered, and every way in readineſs, upon the word given them, to ſurpriſe and ſuppreſs the Army, to fire the City, and to maſſacre all conſiderable people of all ſorts whom they ſuſpect averſe to what they impiouſly deſigned. *Feake* hath lately given them the Alarum in print. *Sir Henry Vane* is chief in the deſign, and lately ſaid in confidence to a friend, This Army was every way to be ſuppreſſed, for otherwiſe they ſhould not be permitted to ſit long. The Parliament's new Militia and their liſtings in ſeveral counties is in order to no other deſign. If God gives you not eyes to ſee the deſtruction that is even at your doors, or if you ſee it, [and] want hearts and courage to prevent it, it then ſeems the decree is gone out againſt you. You may have your warning, and we have done our duties. Beware Tueſday next. We ſay BEWARE."

June, 1659.

In the mean time *Rogers* was buſy ſupporting the new Government, with his pen. *William Prynne*, the barriſter, who had been twice ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory and loſe his ears for libel, and on whom the ſentence had been twice, ſo far as it was poſſible, executed, who had written more ſeditious libels, and had been confined in more priſons, than perhaps any other man in England, was now the boldeſt writer on the Preſbyterian Royaliſt ſide. He and *Rogers* ſoon came into colliſion; they both profeſſed the moſt profound veneration for the "Good Old Cauſe," but they could by no means agree what the "Good Old Cauſe" was. *Prynne* publiſhed "The true Good Old Cauſe rightly ſtated, and the falſe uncaſed." *Rogers* anſwered with "*Mr. Prynne's* Good Old Cauſe ſtated and ſtunted ten years ago." *Prynne* rejoined with "The Republicans' and others' ſpurious Good Old Cauſe briefly and truly Anatomized." *Rogers* with "Διαπολιτεία, a Chriſtian Concertation with *Mr. Prynne*, *Mr. Baxter*, *Mr. Harrington*,* or an anſwer to *Mr. Prynne's* Perditory Anatomy," &c. &c. *Prynne* wrote "A brief neceſſary Vindication . . . from the falſe malicious calumnies of . . . *Mr. John Rogers* and *Mr. Needham*." *Harrington* anſwered with "A Parallel of the Spirit of the People with the Spirit of *Mr. Rogers*," and the

* James Harrington, the Author of "Oceana."

controverſy ſeems to have ended with "*Mr. Harrington's* parallel unparalleled," from the pen of *Rogers*.*

Prynne reduces all material differences between himſelf on one ſide, and *Rogers* and *Needham* on the other, into ſix diſtinct queſtions, of which it will be ſufficient here to give but one. "The firſt queſtion between *John Rogers* and *Mr. Prynne* . . . is but this, whether the defence, maintenance of the true Proteſtant religion, the King's royal perſon, authority, government, poſterity, the privileges and rights of Parliament, conſiſting of King, Lords, and Commons, the laws, ſtatutes of the land, the liberty, property of the ſubject, and peace, ſafety of the kingdom, were the only true 'Good Old Cauſe,' for which the Long Parliament and their Armies firſt took up arms in 1642, and continued them till the Treaty with the King, 1648 (as *Mr. Prynne* aſſerts and proves, like a Lawyer, by punctual evidences, witneſſes, votes, declarations) . . . or whether the erecting of a new Commonwealth and Parliament without a King and Houſe of Lords, and majority of the Commons' Houſe, upon the ruins of the late King, Kingdom, Parliament, ſince 1648 to 1653, and the reviving of it May 7, 1659, by ſome ſwaying Army Officers and the far minor part of the old Commons' Houſe confederating with them . . . [were the Good Old Cauſe], which *Rogers* endeavours to prove, like a Logician, without any evidence, witneſs, but his own *ipſe ſcripſit* . . . making that which was never in being but ſince 1648 to be the Good Old Cauſe for whoſe defence they took up arms in 1642." In ſhort, it ſeems that the "Good Old Cauſe," as interpreted by *Prynne*, meant a limited Monarchy, and the "Good Old Cauſe," as interpreted by *Rogers*, meant a Republic.

Prynne's "Brief Neceſſary Vindication," p. 2.

Beſides the pamphlets elicited by his controverſy with *Prynne*, *Rogers* wrote many others about this time without his name, which can only be identified as his by ſome accidental reference to them in his own or his opponents' writings. Such were "The plain caſe of the Commonweal near the deſperate gulf of Common-

* About this time was publiſhed "A vindication of that prudent and honourable Knight Sir Henry Vane from the lies and calumnies of Richard Baxter." Anthony à Wood attributes the authorſhip to Henry Stubbes, Stubbes quotes it as the work of Mr. Rogers, and Rogers quotes it as the work of "a godly Miniſter."

woe." "A reviving word from the Quick and Dead, &c." "The ſad ſuffering caſe of *Major-General Robert Overton*, priſoner in the Iſle of Jerſey, ſtated and preſented to the ſerious conſideration of thoſe who are either of a pious or public ſpirit"—with probably many others.*

The Council of State nominated by this Parliament ſeem to have been very willing to recompenſe *Rogers* for his zeal on their behalf, but the preferments they offered him ſuggeſt the ſuſpicion that they found it at leaſt as expedient to remove him as to reward him. The following is from "the letter-book" of the Council of State.

In the Public Record Office.

"*To the Commiſſioners for governing, ordering, and ſettling the affairs of Ireland.*

GENTLEMEN,

July, 1659. *Mr. John Rogers* being willing to go for Ireland to the end he may apply himſelf to the preaching of the Goſpel there, and the council being willing to give him their countenance in ſuch an undertaking, they have furniſhed him with fifty pounds out of their contingencies, and have thought fit in an eſpecial manner to recommend him (as they hereby do) to your care, deſiring that he may have like encouragement as heretofore in that work.

"Dd. to him."

[Signed] A. JOHNSTON,
Preſident.

Whitehall, 19 July, 1659."

This miſſion to Ireland had ſmall attractions for *Rogers*, but he was quite aware that the tide which was then in his favour might turn againſt him, and clearly thought that he had undergone already a ſufficiency of ſuffering for the "Good Old Cauſe." "Seeing," he ſays to the Council, "I am not worthy to live in my own nation, I am glad that you are ſo worthy as to ſend me

* "What ſcurrilous books have been contrived by Needham, Goodwin, Milton, Rogers, and ſuch like Billingſgate authors is not unknown to any."—*Hiſtory of the Wicked Plots and Conſpiracies of our Pretended Saints.* By Henry Foulis. 1674. 2nd Ed. p. 24.

into another. I would ſay with Chryſoſtom, 'Well, the earth is the Lord's and the fulneſs thereof,' 'et nil niſi peccatum timeo.' Yea, I would anſwer too with Ariſtotle, when aſked why he left Athens, 'ὅτι οὐ βούλεται Ἀθηναίους δὶς ἐξαμαρτεῖν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν,' I would not have the Athenians to ſin twice againſt philoſophy, nor would I that our honourable worthies ſhould run the ſecond time upon the ſame rock or danger of ruin." He ſigns himſelf—

"Your ſervant to my utmoſt power,
whether in this nation or any other, for
the Cauſe of Chriſt and his Commonwealth,

JOHN ROGERS;"

and dates "from my houſe in Alderſgate Street, 14th of 5th month, called July, in the firſt year of our ſecond deliverance or return to the liberty of a free ſtate."

But this exile to Ireland was not actually inflicted upon him. Before he had ſet out news reached London of the Royaliſt inſurrection in Cheſhire, under *Sir George Booth*. The Council of State met inſtantly and iſſued orders for raiſing troops, commiſſioning officers, and deſpatching an army to the ſcene of action. Among the regiments then officered, was that of *Col. Charles Fairfax*, and among the names of its commiſſioned officers appears that of "*John Rogers*, Chaplain." In fact, none were at this time more zealous for the Government, than the party to which *Rogers* was attached. The Preſbyterian gentry had contrived *Sir George Booth's* inſurrection, and "the Preſbyterian miniſters," ſays *Whitelock*, "did labour to further it." On the other hand, "the Congregational Churches deſired leave to raiſe three regiments for the Parliament, and had their willing conſent thereto."

Auguſt, 1659.

Minute Book of the Committee of Safety, in the Public Record Office.

Whitelock, p. 682.

General Lambert was one of thoſe who ſigned the Order by which *Rogers* was appointed to a regimental chaplaincy, and on the ſame day (Auguſt 6) he marched out of London at the head of the troops againſt the enemy. In leſs than a fortnight the Royaliſts were utterly routed and diſperſed, and their leaders taken priſoners. *Rogers* probably joined his regiment, for ſhortly afterwards he ſpeaks of having been "called aſide of a ſudden" into another part of the harveſt, and in September he pleads "the late rebellion" as an apology for a delay of five weeks in the publication of an anſwer to *Prynne*.

A lampoon of this date, written by a Royaliſt in the ſtyle of the Seven Champions of Chriſtendom, deſcribes how *Sir Lambert* marched againſt the loyal knight as far as the foreſt of Northimbria, and how before *Sir Lambert* departed out of the City of London, the Seer Feko and the Seer Rogero, high prieſts of the temples of the idols, came unto him and declared unto him their viſions.

Sept. 1659. On his return *Rogers* procured the following order from the Council of State,

"Monday, 19, September, 1659.

"Rogers diſpenſed with." From "Fair Order Book of Council of State," in the Public Record Office. Ordered—That *Mr. Rogers*, the miniſter, be diſpenſed with from going to Ireland this winter, according to his deſire to that purpoſe ſignified to the Council."

And about three weeks afterwards he was appointed lecturer at Shrewſbury. The date of this appointment is remarkable.

October, 1659. The ſuppreſſion of *Sir George Booth's* inſurrection by *General Lambert* led to increaſed jealouſy between the Parliament and the officers of the army, the latter preſumed more and more upon their ſervices, while the Parliament grew more and more jealous of interference, until a trial of ſtrength became inevitable. On October the 12th (1659), Parliament ordered the diſmiſſal from their commands of *Lambert*, *Deſborough*, and ſeven or eight others of the principal officers of the army. On the next day, October 13, thoſe regiments upon which Parliament could rely, marched out of their quarters in Scotland Yard and took poſſeſſion of Weſtminſter Hall, with the Palace Yard and avenues adjoining. On the other hand, *Lambert*, with the regiments on which he relied, marched out alſo and took poſſeſſion of Weſtminſter Abbey and the ſpace around it. During the whole day the ſoldiers of the oppoſite factions ſtood face to face in Weſtminſter, "expecting orders to fall on." The ſitting of Parliament was interrupted, and the ſpeaker turned back in his coach, but the Council of State ſat in Whitehall, and as the leaders of both factions were members a "long and ſmart debate" enſued. It was finally arranged that the Parliament ſhould be diſſolved; and the Council of officers undertook to provide for the preſervation of the peace, to frame a conſtitution, to ſummon a Parliament, and "ſo to ſettle all things." When this was agreed upon the ſoldiers

were ordered to withdraw to their quarters, and as *Lambert* and his confederates had accompliſhed all that they had deſired, the order was obeyed, and the ſoldiers withdrew accordingly. Whitelock, p. 685.

The following minutes in the order book of the Council of State are the whole official records of what paſſed there in the morning of this eventful day. It does not appear how *Rogers* ſucceeded in ſecuring for himſelf ſuch an undue proportion of attention.

"Thurſday, 13 of October, 1659—morning.

Lord Whitelock, *Preſident.*

Sir James Harrington, Lord Lambert, Mr. Nevill, Major Salwey, Col. Downes, Col. Dixwell, Lord Wareſton, Lord Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, Col. Thomſon, Mr. Reynolds, Major-General Diſbrow, Mr. Challoner, Col. Berry.

Ordered—That the *Lord Whitelock* be Preſident of the council for the preſent, and that he be deſired to take the chair accordingly.

That all the forces of the army which are now ſtanding at their arms and all other forces raiſed by authority of Parliament, and now upon their march, or in arms, be and are hereby required forthwith to repair to their ſeveral and reſpective quarters until further orders from the Council.

Paſſed nemine contradicente.

That this order of the Council be forthwith communicated to the commanders of the ſaid forces by the clerks or meſſengers of the council, that the ſame may be obſerved accordingly.

That the Lord Preſident of the Council do ſign the aforeſaid orders.

That the Council do adjourn for one hour.

Ordered—upon the petition of divers well-affected perſons in and about Shrewſbury that *Mr. John Rogers* be and hereby is appointed a public preacher in Shrewſbury, and that for the exerciſe of his miniſtry and conveniency of the auditory, he have the free uſe of the public meeting place called St. Julian, and other adjacent vacant places mentioned in the petition, as he ſhall have opportunity. And for the encouragement of the ſaid *Mr. Rogers* it is further ordered that the augmentation with the arrears formerly granted to *Mr. Burnet* or any other lecturer or miniſter in

St. Julian's, together with ſo much more as will make it one hundred and fifty pounds by the year, being the allowance granted to the ſeveral lecturers in the city of Hereford, be paid unto the ſaid *Mr. John Rogers.* And the truſtees for the maintenance of miniſters, and augmentations are to take ſpecial care that the ſame be paid accordingly.''

From Order Book of Council of State.

The Council of Officers nominated a committee of ten from the Council of State to carry on the Government. Afterwards they appointed a Committee of Safety, conſiſting of twenty-three perſons. *Sir Henry Vane* was a member of both.

But this Government ſatisfied nobody. It was not even ſupported by the army itſelf, and very ſoon fell to pieces. On the 26th of December the ſoldiers brought back with acclamations the very Parliament which they had diſſolved ten weeks before.

January, 1660.

In January, 1660, *Sir Henry Vane* was ordered to repair to his houſe at Raby and remain there; and in February *Monk* reached London and reſtored the ſecluded members to their places in Parliament. This threw the majority into the hands of the Royaliſts, and was the beginning of the end. Parliament was diſſolved, and and on May 1 the new Parliament voted that the Government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons, and at the ſame time received letters from and voted humble addreſſes to *Charles II.*

Whether *Rogers* ever reached Shrewſbury is uncertain. He can be traced for a few years after the Reſtoration as a private perſon, but his public career as preacher and politician ended with the Commonwealth, and little now remains to be done but to record a few incidents of the life or of the death of thoſe in whom, for various reaſons and in different degrees, he had been chiefly intereſted.

His father *Nehemiah*, to whom he never alludes without due reverence, lived long enough to ſee the bonfires blazing for the Reſtoration of Monarchy, and to preach once afterwards, but not long enough to ſee the King return, or to be himſelf reſtored to the rectory in London and the ſtall at Ely, which he had forfeited for his loyalty eighteen years before. On his way home from morning ſervice at Doddinghurſt he fell ſpeechleſs to the ground in the churchyard, and died before the hour of afternoon ſervice. He was buried May 9th, 1660, the very day *Charles the Second* was publicly proclaimed in London.

The Reſtoration, which drove *John Rogers* into obſcurity, ſent his more eminent friends, patrons, and accomplices to the ſcaffold. The chief leaders of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men among the laity were *Harriſon*, *Carew*, and latterly *Sir Henry Vane*. All three were executed. *Harriſon* was the firſt to ſuffer, as he had been alſo the firſt arreſted. He was tried and convicted as a Regicide, and was executed at Charing Croſs with all the uſual barbarities. While he was being drawn to the gallows on a ſledge, ſome one in deriſion called to him, "Where is your Good Old Cauſe?" He with a cheerful ſmile clapped his hand on his breaſt, and ſaid, "Here it is, and I am going to ſeal it with my blood." *Carew* ſuffered two days afterwards with equal courage. *Vane* was kept in priſon and ſuſpenſe for two years, and was then tried and executed.

State Trials, ii. 406.

The proceedings againſt the Regicides and their accomplices diſpoſed alſo of *Colonel Jones* and *Miles Corbet*, who had befriended *Rogers* in Ireland, of *Colonel Okey*, his fellow-ſufferer under *Cromwell*, and of *Colonel Barkſtead*, his gaoler in the Tower. They were all executed. *Ludlow*, another of his patrons in Ireland, *Colonel Hewſon*, whoſe experiences he records in "Bethſhemeſh," *Mr. Holland*, the ſpokeſman of "the Locomotive" Commiſſion at Windſor Caſtle, and his unkind kinſman *Serjeant Dendy*, were attainted for their reſpective ſhares in the King's trial, but eſcaped abroad and died peaceably in their beds.

The Fifth-Monarchy-Men's inſurrection of 1661 cloſed the career of many of his aſſociates of the humbler ſort. This inſurrection was concerted in the notorious old meeting-houſe of Coleman Street. The Government had received intelligence of its deſigns and had arreſted moſt of its ringleaders, including *Cornet Day*, *Quartermaſter-General Courtney*, *Colonel Overton*, and *Major Allen*. But they omitted to arreſt *Venner*, and on Sunday evening, January 6, 1661, he and about ſixty of his followers ſallied out of their meeting-houſe in open inſurrection. They marched firſt to *Rogers'* old quarters of St. Thomas Apoſtle's "to call in more of their party, thence into Whitecroſs Street, coming into the City again at Cripplegate, and going out again at Alderſgate, declaring for King Jeſus, and killing ſeveral people. *Sir Richard Brown*, then Lord Mayor, having notice of their deſperate deſign, got together ſome files of the Train Bands, who were at firſt repulſed by *Venner's* party, who fought with an incredible

Inſurrection of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

Their horrid enthuſiaſm.

impulſe of infatuation, as making themſelves to believe that one ſhould chaſe a thouſand and no weapon formed againſt them ſhould proſper. But finding themſelves harder preſſed, and being told the Life Guards were coming down upon them, they retired, and under cover of the dark evening got into Caen Wood, betwixt Highgate and Hampſtead: and a party of horſe and foot being ſent thither to hunt them out, on Wedneſday morning very early this villanous crew returned again to London, dividing themſelves into two parties, one whereof appeared about Leadenhall, and from thence marched into Little Eaſtcheap, where they fought obſtinately, but were diſperſed by the Train Bands. *Venner* with another party came to the Lord Mayor's houſe, thinking to have ſurpriſed him, but miſſing their aim they marched into Wood Street, where they were met by *Colonel Corbet* and about twenty horſe. *Corbet* and nine only of his horſemen charged through the rebels and broke them, and the Trained Band foot fell in and purſued them. They fought with a courage more brutiſh and deviliſh than was ever ſeen in men, and if their numbers had been equal to their ſpirits they would have overturned the city, and the nation, and the world. *Venner*, who was much wounded before he could be taken, was ſoon after, with about ſixteen of his crew, arraigned at the Old Bailey, and being all found guilty, they were executed in ſeveral places in London, moſt of them raving and threatening judgment, and calling down vengeance upon the King, the Judges, and the City." *Venner* himſelf was hanged oppoſite the Coleman Street meeting-houſe.

Defeated.

Condemned and executed.

Biſhop Kennet's Complete Hiſtory of England, iii. 225.

The ſeverities exerciſed on the Fifth-Monarchy-Men after this inſurrection were ſufficient to repreſs, but not to extinguiſh them. For years their conſpiracies were a continual ſource of uneaſineſs to the Government, and moſt of thoſe who conſpired under *Cromwell* re-appear as conſpirators under *Charles II. Brother Feake* clung to his old trade, and paſſed his life either in hiding in and round London, in ſtealthy journeys about the country, or in priſon. *Quartermaſter-General Courtney*, after his arreſt in January, 1661, was detained in the Gatehouſe until the following June, when he was releaſed on giving ſecurity in £1,000 that he would go abroad within fifteen days and not return. But five years afterwards, while the plague was raging in London, the Government received intelligence that a wide-ſpread conſpiracy was on foot, that the head of this ſerpent lay between Edmonton and Ware, in retired

places in Epping Foreſt and Enfield Chaſe, and in London, that "thoſe two pernicious fellows *Hugh Courtney* and *Walter Thimbleton*," had been ſeen lurking about the neighbourhood on foot, and that unleſs they were inquired after ſerious miſchief would enſue. *Courtney* ſeems to have eſcaped. If arreſted, he would probably have ſhared the fate of another of *Rogers'* army friends, *Colonel Rathbone*. In April, 1666, two or three months after *Courtney's* viſit to England, *Colonel Rathbone* and ſeven others were indicted at the Old Bailey for conſpiring the death of his Majeſty and the overthrow of the Government, and "then to have declared for an equal diviſion of land, &c." It is ſaid "the evidence againſt theſe perſons was very full and clear." At any rate, they were found guilty of high treaſon on the 26th of April, and were executed at Tyburn on the 30th.

In a letter dated Jan. 8, 1666, now in the Public Record Office.

See page 81.

London Gazette, April 26 and 30, 1666.

So far as the Reſtoration influenced their fortunes, *Rogers'* old Preſbyterian antagoniſts, the lawyer *Maynard* and the preacher *Crofton*, were to a certain extent repreſentative men in their reſpective profeſſions, for the Reſtoration brought promotion to the one and ruin to the other. *Maynard* was courted and honoured by the Government of *Charles II*, and lived to compliment *William III.* on the Revolution. He was M.P. for Plymouth as late as 1689, and died at the age of eighty-eight in the next year. On the other hand, that "Jeſuitical Preſbyter," *Zachary Crofton*, after having been ſent to the Tower ſhortly before the Reſtoration for preaching in favour of Monarchy, was ſent there again ſhortly after the Reſtoration for preaching againſt Epiſcopacy. In 1662 he was ejected from his living of St. Botolph, Aldgate, "left preaching," and became a cheeſe factor in Cheſhire. But he made himſelf ſo obnoxious to the authorities, civil and eccleſiaſtical, that he was arreſted again and impriſoned in Cheſter Caſtle. On his releaſe he took a farm in Bedfordſhire, and afterwards a ſchool in his old pariſh of St. Botolph, Aldgate. There he died and was buried in 1672, the rector of the pariſh preaching at the funeral.

Calamy's Memorial, i. 103.

"An Information from Lord Brereton," in Record Office.

Smith's Obituary, p. 97 (Camden Society).

To return to *John Rogers*. After the Reſtoration the free cities of Holland became cities of refuge for thoſe Republicans whoſe names had become too notorious in England, and *Rogers* emigrated with the reſt. In his early life, and in obedience to his father, who had conſtantly oppoſed his inclination to the miniſtry, he had entered upon the ſtudy of medicine at Cambridge, but

he was ſwept away by the excitement of the times, and "fell to preaching" before he was nineteen. He was now thirty-three, with a wife and family, but without home, without property, without profeſſional means of ſubſiſtence, and he returned to the calling for which he had been originally intended. The Univerſities of Leyden and Utrecht were famous then for their ſchools of medicine; he ſtudied at both, and took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Utrecht, in October, 1662, publiſhing at the ſame time ſome inaugural diſſertations in Latin. There was the uſual colony of Engliſh refugees in Utrecht, ſome of whom appear to have ſuffered by the Act againſt non-conformity, which came into operation on "Black Bartholomew's-day," 1662. *Rogers* appended to his treatiſes ſeveral of the congratulatory addreſſes* he received from theſe men. He muſt have returned to England ſhortly after this time, for in the ſame year (1662) he is deſcribed as "*Rogers* of Bermondſey," in the Herald's viſitation of Surrey.

In the Herald's College.

In 1663 his exiſtence is atteſted to only by an entry in *Secretary Williamſon's* "Spy-book," a liſt of diſaffected and dangerous perſons who were watched by the Secretary's ſpies. "—— *Rogers*, paſtor of a church—dwells in St. Mary Madlen's pariſh, practizeth phyſic, and meets often at his own houſe."

In the Public Record Office.

In 1664 he was admitted to an "ad eundem" degree of Doctor of Medicine at Oxford. *Anthony Wood* deſcribes him only as the ſon of *Nehemiah Rogers*, of Duddinghurſt. Keen-eyed as *Wood* was where a Puritan or ſectary was concerned, he failed apparently to identify the phyſician of Utrecht whoſe "ad eundem" degree he regiſters in his Faſti, with the "buſy," "pragmatical," "impudent," and "notorious Fifth-Monarchy-Man," whoſe biography he had ſketched in his Athenæ.

Faſti, ii. 159.

Athenæ, ii. 594, ed. 1721.

* Plauſus in honorem ac meritum inaugurale Doctiſſimi, generis ac morum ſplendore Ornatiſſimi, Digniſſimi D. Johannis Rogerſii, Anglo-Britanni, Cantabrigienſis, datus cum in celeberrimâ Trajecti juxta Rhenum Academia ſummis ſummo merito in Arte Medica titulis, honoribus, dignitatibus, auctus, ac Apollinari Choro conſcriptus triumphabat, Oct. 17, 1662.

Quis te Naturæ miris præfecerit aris,
Qui modo de cælo ſulmina ſacra dabas,
Ecce alio nunc igne cales, Phœbique Sacerdos
Non metuit pœnas, Bartholomæe, tuas, &c. &c.

In 1665 *Rogers* publiſhed a ſecond edition of his medical treatiſes, which with amazing inconſiſtency he dedicates to *Clarendon*.* The great plague of London broke out in the ſame year, and certain advertiſements, in the "Intelligencer" and "News," of "Alexiterial and Antipeſtilential medicine, an admirable and experimented preſervative from the plague," "made up by the order of *J. R., M.D.*," carry with them, in their phraſeology and pretenſions, ſtrong internal evidence of his pen. The fact that one ſo bent on notoriety ſhould have left behind him no trace even of his exiſtence after that date, ſuggeſts the conjecture that he muſt have periſhed in 1665. But in truth the date of his death is abſolutely uncertain. July 31, Auguſt 3, 1665.

The following extract is from the Viſitation of Surrey:—

"ROGERS OF BERMONDSEY.

Nehemiah Rogers, of Duddinghurſt, in com. Eſſex. = Margaret, da.

John Rogers, of St. Mary Magdalen's, Bermondſey, in com. Surry, Dr. in Phyſicke 1662. = Elizabeth, da. of Sir Robert Payne, of Midloe, in com. Hunt., Knt.

John, ſonne & heire, Æt. 13, An°. 1662.

Priſonborne.

[Signed] JOHN ROGERS."

John, the eldeſt ſon, ſettled at Plymouth, where he acquired a large fortune as a merchant. He was elected M.P. for that borough and created a Baronet in 1698, was High Sheriff of Devon in 1701, and died in 1710.

Priſonborn, the younger ſon, is ſaid by his nephew, the ſecond *Sir John Rogers*, to "have been chriſtened by that name on

* This edition is dated "E Muſeolo meo in ſuburb. Londinenſi atque in Calend. Mart. anno τῆς Χριστογονίας, 1664," i.e. March 1, 1665.

account of his being born at Cariſbrook Caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, while his mother abode there with her huſband, then confined a priſoner in the ſaid Caſtle by *Oliver Cromwell*," " who, the ſaid *Priſonborn*, after the Reſtoration bore a commiſſion in his Majeſty's army, and was killed in a duel in France." *Priſonborn* was more probably " the poor priſonborn babe " born at Windſor in 1655.

See page 245.

Two other children, *Peter* and *Paul*, died in Lambeth Priſon.

FINIS.

A Liſt of Authorities quoted or referred to in this Book.

THE Works of John Rogers, viz.—

"To his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell: A few Propoſals Relating to Civil Government," &c, a ſingle ſheet, folio, April 25, 1653.

"Ohel, or Bethſhemeſh, a Tabernacle for the Sun," London, ſmall quarto, 1653.

"Sagrir," 1653, ſmall quarto.

"To his Highneſs Lord General Cromwell, the humble Cautionary Propoſals of John Rogers," December 21, 1653, ſingle ſheet, folio.

"Mene, Tekel, Perez," 1654, 14 pages, ſmall quarto.

"Jegar Sahadutha," or "a Heart Appeal," with the Introduction to "Priſon-born Morning Beams," one vol. ſmall quarto.

"Διαπολιτεία, a Chriſtian Concertation with Mr. Prynne, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Harrington, for the True Cauſe of the Commonwealth," &c. London, 1659.

"Diſputatio Medica Inauguralis," Utrecht, 1662.

"Analecta Inauguralia, ſive Diſceptationes Medicæ," London, 166¾.

Works of Nehemiah Rogers—

"The Parable of the Prodigal Son," 1632.

"The Faſt Friend," 1658.

"The Figleſs Fig-tree," 1659.

Contemporary Newſpapers, viz.—

"Mercurius Politicus," 1651-1658.

"Several Proceedings in State Affairs," 1654-1655.

"Perfect Proceedings," 1655.

"Perfect Diurnal," 1653.

"Weekly Intelligencer," 1653, 1665.

"London Gazette," 1666.

"Mercurius Ruſticus, the Country's Complaint, recounting the ſad events of this unparalleled war," 1647.

"Querela Cantabrigienſis," 1647.
Sprigge's "Anglia Rediviva," 1647.
"A Teſtimony to the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt and to our Solemn League and Covenant . . . ſubſcribed by the Miniſters of Chriſt within the province of London, Dec. 14, &c, 1647." London, 1648.
"Bethſhémeſh Clouded," by Zachary Crofton, 1653.
"An exact Relation of the Proceedings and Tranſactions of the late Parliament, by a Member," 1654. Reprinted in Somers' Tracts.
"An Olive Branch, or ſome Peaceable Conſiderations to the Chriſtian Meeting at Chriſt Church in London, Jan. 9, 1654," by William Erberry.
"The Faithful Narrative of the late Teſtimony and Demand made to Oliver Cromwell and his powers," &c, 1654.
"The Old Leaven purged out, or the Apoſtaſy of this day further opened," &c, 1658.
"A Narrative wherein is faithfully ſet forth the Sufferings of John Cann, Wentworth Day, John Clark . . . and George Strange, called, as their Newſbook faith, Fifth-Monarchy-Men; that is, how eight of them were taken in Coleman Street, month ſecond (called April), day firſt, 1658, as they were in the ſolemn worſhip of God, and by the Lord Mayor ſent priſoners to the Counter in the Poultry; alſo of the arraignment of Wentworth Day and John Clark in the Old Bailey . . . publiſhed by a friend to the priſoners and the Good Old Cauſe they ſuffer for. Acts v. 38, 39. London, printed in the year 1658."
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1. Of John Rogers, in his unchriſtian Concertation with Mr. Prynne and others.
2. Of M: Nedham, in his 'Intereſt will not lie' . . . by William Prynne, of Swainſwick, Eſq., a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn."
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